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MAN IN INDIA.

INDIA

Vol. X. } JAN.—MARCH, 1930. { No. 1.

31271

I. S'ORA (SAVARA) FOLK-LORE.

BY MISS ANNIE CATHERINE MUNRO.

The Bear Story.

[This is a translation of one of the legends collected by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti B. A. of Parlakimedi, India, from among the S'Oras, a people occupying a fairly extensive territory in the Eastern Ghats, at the extreme north east of the Madras Presidency. Comparatively little is known concerning the S'Oras. They are regarded by their Telugu-speaking neighbours of the plains as aborigines, and looked upon somewhat contemptuously as semi-savages. They have no script. Professor Ramamurti has collected a number of their legends, which were published in the Telugu script by the Madras government, in 1912. Unfortunately, no English translation of this valuable work has appeared, and the material is accordingly available to Telugu scholars only.]

In former times a she-bear planted an Olai¹ seed in the forest. It grew, became a tree and

¹ Olai,—An edible fruit, native to the Eastern Ghats. Probably *Bauhinia Valii*. W. & A.

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360

bore fruit. A man, hunting in the forest, came across the tree. He ate of the fruit and as it was very tasty, he picked one to bring to his wife. On the way it got grubby. "Too bad. I must take them out", he said to himself.

"Now, what has my husband brought me?" said his wife as he approached.

"A fruit for you to eat," was his reply.

"Oh, do let me have it," she demanded.

"Just wait, I will give it presently".

"No, do give it at once," she coaxed.

"Very well then, take the grubs out yourself."

He gave her the Olai. She removed the grubs and ate the fruit.

"Oh, how sweet! Delicious! Where are they?" his wife asked. "Let's go for more. Come on."

"No, it's too far; it's a great distance," he objected.

"What of that? Come on. Let's be going," she insisted. They went.

The man climbed the tree and was picking fruit when the she-bear came along. His wife had seen her coming and ran pell-mell.

The bear brought a pot of rice and proceeded to worship the Olai tree. The man was still up there and crying for fear the bear would eat him. His tears fell on her, and looking up she saw him.

"Who are you?" she asked him.

"I am a man," he answered.

"Come down."

* The she-bear worshipped in the sense of desiring to show her gratitude to the tree for the food it provided.

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"You will eat me, if I do."

"No, I shall not, I love you."

"I have my doubts. You may eat me in spite of what you say."

"Now see here, there is nothing between us.

We shall marry."

Down came the man without further hesitation and both went to the she-bear's house.

The man's wife had returned to her village. Saying she was going to a relative's house to see her husband, she went off to the she-bear's house. ³:

"Why have you come?" the she-bear asked.

"Sister-in-law, I have come to see my elder brother. How are you? Are you well?"

"Yes, thank you. Quite well," returned the she-bear. "Do stay with us."

"I don't know. There is every possibility of you eating me, if I stay".

"Nonsense! Would I not have eaten your elder brother before now? Stay".

She stayed.

"Here you are! Go and get water!" ordered the she-bear, putting a leaky pot in the woman's hands. Off she went to the brook, crying. There were frogs and fishes there.

"Why are you crying?" they asked. "Don't worry. We will give wax. Carry the water. Don't be afraid," said the frogs and the fishes.

* To the she-bear the man's wife spoke of her husband as *kakun* which means, *elder brother*, and the she-bear herself she addressed as *bonnin*, meaning *elder brother's wife*.

She carried the water. *

"Now then, I wonder how she has managed", said the she-bear to herself, as she saw the woman returning. "It was a leaky pot I gave her, but she is lucky. She has got it mended somehow. Good!"

They prepared food for themselves then and ate.

"I am going home now, sister-in-law", announced the woman.

"All right. You, your elder brother and I, the three of us together will go. Come on."

Away went the three.

On the way the man and woman schemed to get rid of the she-bear.

"My comb! I have forgotten it! Sister-in-law do you mind going back to the village for my comb? I've left it", the woman said.

"Will you wait for me?"

"Oh yes, we two will wait," they promised.

The bear went back to the village.

"Now, let's get away from here quickly". The husband went with his wife.

The she-bear returned with the comb, but the man and woman were nowhere to be seen. To ensure their escape, they had set a fire in the road and having kindled it into flame, away went the S'Oras.

A watch-boy was with his cattle.

"Where did the men go?" called the she-bear.

"There! That way, treading fire the two went.", he answered.

Thinking she also could tread the fire she attempted to follow, but was so badly burnt that she died. The man and his wife had made their escape and lived happily together thereafter.

* The tale does not explain how the pot was repaired.

DOVE SONG.

Andauli.

Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree.
 Gamle gutai gutai.
 Buroi ja pong, ganga ja pong.
 S'a a ja pong sitri ja pong.
 Nyang lai, nyang lai, nyang lai.
 Gutai gutai, gutai.
 Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree.
 Kondrari ja, porri-ri ja, Bara nete pong.
 Kondra sel ja, porri sel ja, Bara nete pong.
 Eja pong. Eja pong.
 Gamle gutai, gutai, gutai. Gamle gutai, gutai, gutai.
 Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree. Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree.

DOVE'S SONG.

(Kukkuran-a Kenkenan).

- Cho.* Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree
 Thus am I calling, calling, calling.
1. Buroi x or not, ganga x or not,
 Sa'ja x or not, Sitri x or not,
 Will I get? will I get? will I get?
 I am saying, saying, saying.
 2. Do the widowers and the orphans
 Have to work or not?
 Thus am I calling, calling, calling.
 Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree.
 3. Do the widows+ and the orphans
 Have to work or not?
 Thus am I calling, calling, calling.
 Kuree, kuree, kuree, kuree.

x Grains and seeds' names common to the locality in India where the S'oras live, but having no English equivalent name.
 + Applied to bereaved birds.

ABUSED HUSBAND'S PLAINT.

Andauli.

A-man dong Jong Jori kain-kain lo ting.
 I'am tired of your abuse Jori.
Nen don yirte tala mon dam.
 I'm going away and leave you now.
Nen don yirte Sampapuran.
 I'm going away from Sampapur.
A-man panong Lani x kain kain lo ting.
 You think smartie you can abuse.
A-man panong Lani turr-turr lo ting.
 You think smartie, you can say go.
Da sa nep droi it-te U-ker-si on.
 To my own country U-ker-sing.
Gor-jang nen droi it-te ta-la mon dam.
 I'm going to go and leave you now.

† Lani=possibly a sarcastic term.

CHILDREN & BIRDS AT THE BROOK.

Allegro.

Jo-da, Jo-da, bu-li-ti-tong-an.
Turr turr da sing gai-ti dan.
Et-el-la gam-dong tong-an.
Pa so-ra ta la bon du.

LULLABY.

Andauli.

mp. Lo-la-la-lo, lo-la-la-lo, a-ma'-nyen.
K'ding-a, k'ding-a, k'ding-a, a-ma nyen.
Pa-na-ma-te twin-twin-ti dan.
Ka-kuna-ma-te pang-pang-ti dan.
A-yang-na-ma-te ni-da-ti dan.
U-banna-ma-te bul-bul-ti dan.
K'ding-a, k'ding-a, k'ding-a a-ma' nyen.
A'ga-ra, se-si, a ba-ra se-si, a-ma' nyen.
K'ding-a, a-jum-ba gu-gong no a'ma' nyen.

Translation.

La-la-la-lo, lo-la-la-lo, lo-la-la-lo, My pretty eyes. Rep.
Make no noise, make no noise, make no noise,

My pretty eyes. Rep.

You are your daddy's "twin 'twin" (Unidentified)
birdie.

You are your 'mummy's "nī - da" (Snipe) birdie.

You are elder brother's "pang-pang" (Paddy bird)
birdie.

You are younger brother's "bul-bul" (Bul-bul) birdie.
Make no noise, make no noise, make no noise,

my 'pretty eyes.

Here's millet seed, here's sweet grass seed,
my pretty eyes.

Don't cry out, my p-r-e-t-t-y e-y-e-s.

FOREST FROLIC. (Kambujan-a-Kenkenan).

Presto.

Kambu tonan tonai-iba. Karu tonan tonai-iba.

Kambu laman lamai-iba. Karu laman lamai-iba.

Kina tonan tonai-iba. Mara tonan tonai-iba.

Kina laman lamai-iba. Mara laman lamai-iba.

Ballo na pon delai. Edika pon delai.

Gayaraiba, gayaraiba. Gayaraiba, gayaraiba.

Kambu gayaran. Kina gayaram.

Gayaraiba gayaraiba. Gayaraiba gayaraiba.

Karu gayaran. Mara gayaran.

Ballo na pong de lai. Edika pong de lai.

FOREST FROLIC.

(From S'Ora Folk Songs.)

Dance, bear, dance!

Dance, monkey, dance!

On all fours, bear!

On all fours, monkey!

Dance, tiger, dance !
 Dance, peacock, dance !
 On all fours, tiger !
 On all fours, peacock !
 Oh, splendidly you performed !
 Right merrily you performed !
 Now whirl around, whirl around,
 Bear, whirl around !
 Now whirl around, whirl around,
 Whirl around, monkey !
 Now whirl around, whirl around,
 Whirl around tiger !
 Now whirl around, whirl around,
 Whirl around, peacock !
 Oh, splendidly you performed !
 Right merrily you performed !

LULLABY.

Moderats

Tempo

Ju-ju O' on, kul-ban e-rai-te ! Ju-ju O' on kin-sor e-rai-te !
 Ka-dim-ba so-na-ri, jo-gin e-rai-te ! Ka-dim-ba lan-ga-ri, ja-dan,
 e-rai-te !
 Gu-gong. E-gong, Tir mang O' on. Ra-ji on gam-tam,
 Lan-ga-ri nyen gam tam. Ba-rah dong am-te.
 Ju-ju, O' on kul-ban e-rai-te. Ku-du rung kin-te gur nyen.
 Gam-tam. mur-da gur nyen gam-tam. Ra-ji on. Ji-ma-na,
 Ji-ma-na lan-ga-ri. Lu-da, lu-da re-sa On.
 Ka-dab-na gan-ga-rung, oo-da gur pang-le ti-tam.
 Ka-dab-na ku-du rung, Kin-te gur pang-le ti-tam. E-gong Sa-nari.
 Mui-da gur pang-le ti-tam. Ka-dab-na sa-na-ri.
 E-gong. Gu-gong, lan-ga-ri.

Translation.

Shh, shh, my babe, a spirit will come.
Sha, shh, my babe, a dog will come.
Make no noise little pet, a witch will come.
Make no noise lovely one, a snake will come.
Be quiet, cry not my precious babe.
My little prince, I call you.
My lovely one, I call you.
Don't be cross.
Shh, shh, my babe, a spirit will come.
My finest rice, my plantain fruit, I call you.
My juicy fruit, I call you. Little prince.
Go to sleep, go to sleep, lovely one.
Shut your ears, shut your ears, darling baba,

—:o:—

II. THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND THE POPULATION OF INDIA IN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE. *

By B. SEYMOUR SEWELL, M. A., F. A. S. B., F. Z. S., F.L.S.

The population of India at the present day is a great heterogeneous collection of races and tribes, of differing physique and in all stages of culture, and if ever this mass of humanity is to be welded together—I do not say into an indian nation, for at present such a result appears to be beyond the bounds of possibility—and is to assume politically a more or less homogeneous character, a knowledge of the habits, culture, religion and, last but not least, of the physique and bodily structure of the various tribes and especially of “the stranger that is within your gates” or on your borders is of prime importance; and not a mere knowledge only, but a full appreciation of all that those habits, customs and traditions mean to him. To some these customs may appear foolish or a result of ignorance and superstition, a relic of a far off past, but to the individual himself they may be the very essence of his being.

At the present time the study of Anthropology in this country is in its infancy and its importance does not appear to be generally recognised. There are, I believe, only two of all the Universities in India that include the study of Anthropology

* *This is the Presidential Address in the Section of Anthropology of the Indian Science Congress at its annual meeting held at Madras in 1929.*

in their curriculum and even in these two instances far more attention is paid to the study of Ethnology, to the habits, customs and traditions, either religious or mythical, of the people than to their physical or, as I may perhaps be allowed to put it, their zoological relationships. That this should be the case is, when viewed from the stand-point of one who wishes to trace man's evolution, regrettable, since the study of language or customs, no matter how thorough or painstaking, can never reveal to us the actual relationships of the various tribes and races that go to the make up of the population of this great country, nor will it enable us to reach any definite conclusions regarding the origin or the structural evolution of the great mass of the inhabitants that are at the present time living in India.

Viewing the subject from another standpoint, Indians are, very naturally, interested in their past history and are justly proud of their ancient civilisation. They point with pride to the fact that it is in India that we find some of the oldest civilisations and religions of the world. But the story of India does not begin with the Rig Vedas. Ages prior to the rise of India's great civilisations and cultural achievements, an Indian population was gradually undergoing a process of evolution, starting from the most primitive conditions and progressing steadily onwards and upwards to the stage when history begins and the art of writing brought to a close the stage of purely verbal tradition. The history of India, as we

know it to-day, is only the sequel to a far greater history that went before; a history that has left its traces, not in the written word, but in the actual remains of these primitive people and of their implements and utensils; and this history only requires investigation. Throughout the length and breadth of this country there is awaiting discovery a mass of evidence of the most valuable kind that will enable future Archaeologists and Historians to trace the course and sequence of events that led up to and formed the basis on which Indian civilisation and culture was founded. I would, therefore, take this opportunity of impressing on you the necessity of a study of Anthropology both for the Archaeologist and Historian, and especially for the Politician, who hopes in years to come to take part in the administration and government of various and varied tribes and races of this country.

The origin of the so-called human race is still a matter of dispute. We do not yet definitely know either the time at which or the region where the first pair, the mythical Adam and Eve, from whom the whole of the present population of the world has sprung, made their appearance. We are not even certain that the human race had a single origin. But we do know that, whatever the origin of the so-called genus *Homo*, there are at the present day a number of different races, many of which in their structure differ so greatly from one another that they would be divided by zoologists, if judged by their structure alone, into different species; and, furthermore, we

know that in times past, similar races have sprung up, only to be gradually eliminated by nature in the struggle for existence.

The place of man's origin is still a matter of off uncertainty; some have argued that it was in Europe that the genus *Homo* first appeared, basing their belief in the main on the large number of remains of pre-historic Man that have been discovered in that region. Others have claimed north Africa and especially the region of the Sahara as the site of man's evolution, and a considerable amount of evidence has been adduced in favour of this region; Sergi has claimed it as the site of origin of the Mediterranean race and recently Peake and Fleure (1927) have urged that it is Man's original home. A third locality that is claimed as the site of Man's evolution is the high land of central Asia, the region where Tibet and the high country to the north lie to-day. Of these three areas the last two have up to the present time received the greatest support; but in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion; and we must also remember that it is possible that each of these views is correct. If we consider Man to be a genus and the different races to be species, than these races of species, like those of other lower genera, may have appeared independently in regions far removed from each other, and though an authority such as Professor Osborn (1927) may ridicule the suggestion and term it "fantastic", yet the possibility remains unchanged.

In other groups of the Animal Kingdom a study of the distribution of the various forms that are living at the present time and of the fossil forms that have previously inhabited the earth, provides us in many instances with sufficient evidence on which to base a conclusion regarding the origin of the group; in this connection I would call attention to the work of Matthew (1915), and of Davidson Black (1925). This latter author in a very able paper has summed up all the evidence that he could collect regarding the place of origin of the human species and he has given very strong grounds for the belief that man must have originated in the centre of Asia. That few fossil human remains have as yet been discovered in this region is no argument against its probability; of all the countries of the world one and only one can be said to have been systematically searched for such remains and that is western Europe; and as a result nearly all the finds of primitive man have been in that region: but, as I have already remarked, that is no proof that man originated there; it merely proves his presence there in large numbers at a very early stage in man's history. Even the small amount of exploration that has been carried out in Central Asia and along the northern boundary of India has yielded finds that tend to corroborate the view that Central Asia was man's original home or at any rate was one of such homes.

The next question that we must consider is the time, *i. e.*, the period in Geological history,

in which Man first came into existence. Here again we appear at present to be unable to form any very definite conclusion. Each succeeding discovery seems to place this origin further and further back in the world's history, but we are on firm ground if we accept the view that man existed, in very much the same form as we know him to-day, at any rate during, if not before, the last Glacial Period. Of one thing all zoologists are perfectly certain and that is that Man belongs to the Primate group of the Mammalia; and whether we regard him as evolved from an Anthropoid stock, or whether we persuade ourselves that the Anthropoids are degenerate forms of some higher and more man-like ancestor, there can be no doubt of the zoological relationship. Granted this relationship, the next question that arises is, What do we mean by Man? Where are we to draw the line between Man, as we know ourselves to-day, and man as he was at the time of the last Glacial Period, examples of which we have in the so-called human remains of Piltdown, the "dawn" man as he is sometimes called (*Eoanthropus Dawsoni*), of Heidleberg man, Neanderthal man and other similar primitive forms, or between these primitive forms and the still earlier and more primitive forms like *Pithecanthropus erectus* of Trinil in Java or *Australopithecus africanus* of Rhodesia? As long as we possess only isolated examples such as these, it is easy for us to declare that they represent different species and different genera, but, if we accept the theory of evolution, there was in the process of

of man's evolution and development 'no such discontinuity as these solitary remains might seem to indicate; unless we are prepared to believe that man originated by a sudden mutation, it would appear certain that there must have been a gradual modification from one form to another and this process must have taken thousands of years to accomplish, so that, if man, as definite man, existed in Europe during or even before the Glacial Period, and the evidence of the Foxhall flints seems to indicate that man certainly existed in the Pliocene Epoch and had, even by that time, attained to such a stage in his evolution that the hand had become a perfect grasping organ with a completely opposable thumb, we must go a great deal further back than this to reach the time when his evolution from the original stock first commenced. Again, either actual human remains or the remains of human culture have been discovered all over the world in strata that are of undoubted Pleistocene age; such remains have been excavated in the extreme ends of America, Australia and Africa. If we consider the sites at which such discoveries have been made, there can be no doubt that by the close of the Pleistocene Epoch Man had already spread all over the globe, no matter where he may originally have come into existence. We seem then to be on fairly safe ground in thinking that Man must have commenced to evolve from his ancestral stock at least as early as the Miocene period, and Gregory (1927, p. 439) suggests that this evolution commenced in the Middle Miocene Epoch.

Granting then that Man probably came into existence in the middle of Asia and in the middle of the Miocene Epoch, the next question that we must consider is, what was the condition of Asia and especially central and southern Asia during this remote Epoch? Peninsular India is one of the oldest areas of land on the globe and though it has suffered a succession of changes, such as outbreaks of volcanic eruption that covered a great part of its surface with a deposit of basalt, or a tilting of its level that caused a complete reversal of the flow of some of its great rivers, yet in the Miocene period and for a long time before this Peninsular India was in existence in one form or another and, moreover, in all probability extended very much further to the west than it does at the present day. But immediately to the north the conditions were very different from those of the present time. Hayden and Burrard (1907-09) have pointed out that "until a comparatively recent date in the geological time scale—the middle Tertiary Epoch—all the northern part of what is now the Himalaya, and probably the whole of Tibet were covered by a great sea." At a later period the floor of this sea was elevated and thrown into folds and now forms the ridges of the Himalayas. Simultaneously with these geological changes and as a result of them there occurred a very great alteration in the nature of the terrain of central Asia; originally an extremely fertile country, probably with vast

primeval forests, the gradual rise of the Himalayas slowly but inevitably cut off from it the rainfall on which its fertility depended. Previously the south-west monsoon had brought with it heavy rain that was distributed over the whole area, but the gradual elevation of a mountain range between the central Asiatic region and the Ocean caused the greater part of the rainfall to be precipitated on the south side of the hills and gradually the fertile area of central Asia became what we find it to-day; as the rainfall diminished the forests slowly disappeared and were replaced by grass lands, and in more recent times even this disappeared and the main area became a desert. Such a change must have had a profound effect on the fauna of this region. Forest animals had to become adapted to open country and tree-haunting forms take to a terrestrial existence, or else migrate to other and more suitable regions; failing either of these changes, they must have perished and become extinct. Concomitant with these changes and adaptations, a large number of new species must have made their appearance and it seems probable that it was this change in the nature of the country that caused our ancestors to commence that final phase of evolution that, passing through intermediate stages, probably of the character of such forms as, though not identical with, *Pithecanthropus* and *Australopithecus*, culminated in the appearance on earth of Man.

The early primitive races of Man, that have been discovered in Europe and the near vicinity, appear to have been dolichocephalic or long-headed

in their skull type, but later a brachycephalic or broad-headed type made its appearance in this region. The Caspian and Mediterranean races are dolichocephalic as also were their predecessors, Piltdown man, Neanderthal Man and the Cro-magnon race; but on the other hand the Palaealpines, such as the Negritos, and the Alpines, are brachycephalic. The earliest brachycephalic skulls that have been discovered are those found at Mugem in the valley of the Tagus, at Offnet in western Bavaria, and a fossil skull that was excavated at Manilla in the Philippines at a depth of from 7 to 9 feet below the surface. The Philippine skull is small and brachycephalic and shows a marked degree of prognathism; there is no chin prominence in the lower jaw and the basal inner part of the mandible shows pithecoïd characters resembling those of the jaw of Piltdown Man. Judging from these characters, it appears to belong to a pre-negrito race. Unfortunately we do not know the exact period to which this skull belong; but, as regards the Mugem and Offnet skulls, the former are associated with a culture that is Tardenoisian in type, while those from Offnet appear to be Azilian. These skulls, therefore, must be attributed to the late Palaeolithic phase and are probably of the late Pleistocene period. Here again, however, the earlier occurrence of long-headed skulls in Europe does not prove that dolichocephaly was the ancestral head form; it merely indicates that the long-headed race was the first to be established in Europe.

The differentiation of the human species into

long-headed and broad-headed races must have commenced at a very early stage in Man's history. Until comparatively recently it was thought that the condition of dolichocephaly was unknown among the Anthropoid Apes. Keith (1925), commenting on the skull of *Australopithecus africanus* Dart, stated that "it is a true long-headed Anthropoid—the first so far known." Harris (1927) from a study of a large number of radiographs of the skulls of Anthropoids shows, however, that this belief is far from correct; according to him only two examples of dolichocephaly are known in the monkey *Macaccus rhesus* and the condition of dolichocephaly is unknown in either an Orang Utan or a Chimpanzee, but that in the case of the Gorilla ten cases of dolichocephaly in all have been recorded and of these no less than eight examples occur in the "Rothschild" collection out of a total of fifty, in other words in 16 per cent. Harris is however, incorrect in his statement regarding the complete absence of dolichocephaly in the Chimpanzee. Zukerman (1928) has quite recently published a paper on the Chimpanzee, in which he gives a large series of measurements of skulls and from these measurements I have calculated the cephalic indices and I find that out of a total of 102 examples there are as many as 27, or 26.5, per cent. that are dolichocephalic.

Finding that Harris was wrong in his statement regarding the Chimpanzee, I thought it advisable to see if he was correct about the

absence of dolichocephaly in the Orang Utan. Hrdlicka (1907) has given measurements of 24 skulls and I have examined all the skulls of this species in the Indian Museum collection as well as a collection of skulls in the Raffles Museum Singapore, which Dr. Boden Kloss very kindly sent to me. I took the measurements of the length and of the maximum breadth; but with regard to these measurements it must be borne in mind that with increasing age, and especially in the male, great bony crests are developed and that these will give a very greatly increased breadth measurement and in consequence an entirely false cephalic index. I, therefore, followed the example of Hrdlicka (1907) and took the greatest transverse measurement of the skull immediately above the mastoid crest in the region of the temporo-parietal suture; this measurement will, if anything, underestimate the maximum breadth of the skull and thus tend to give a cephalic index that is too low; but in spite of this I found that in the Indian Museum and Raffles Museum series there was not a single case of dolichocephaly and that the majority of Orang skulls were hyperbrachycephalic, only three falling within the limits of the mesocephalic group, while in Hrdlicka's series six examples (5 males and 1 female) are mesocephalic. The actual measurements are given in an appendix in Table 1.

In order to complete the review of the Anthropoids, I then examined all the skulls belonging to the genus *Hylobates* in the Indian Museum. Here again I found the same difficulty, though

to a much less marked degree, in determining the maximum breadth of the skull; in adult members of this species there is developed in adult life a small bony ridge that runs backwards and slightly upwards from the posterior end of the zygomatic arch and the greatest breadth of the adult skull lies on this ridge, but this would give a measurement that cannot strictly be compared with the breadth of the skull in the human. I, therefore, took the maximum breadth to be the greatest measurement across the skull in the region of the temporoparietal suture, as in the case of the Orang. A calculation of the cephalic indices from these measurements shows that the skull of the Gibbon, *Hylobates*, is considerably longer than the skull either of the Orang or of the Chimpanzee, and out of a total of 8 adult skulls no less than 3, or 37.5%, are actually dolichocephalic, having indices of 73.2, 74.3 and 75.0 respectively, while a fourth skull had an index of only 75.1. There can thus be no doubt of the occurrence of dolichocephaly in the Gibbon.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the fossil remains of the extinct Anthropoids such as *Dryopithecus* and *Sivapithecus* we have no knowledge of the head shape, but Gregory (1922) claims that this latter species was hyper-brachycephalic. It, thus, seems, clear that among the Anthropoids the primitive head form is that of brachycephaly but that we get an occasional long head among the monkeys and that an appreciable percentage of Gibbons, Chimpanzees and Gorillas

show the condition of dolichocephaly, while in contrast to this the Orang is markedly brachycephalic. The differentiation of the skull into the two forms thus begins to make its appearance in the anthropoid stock, the ancestral form being normally brachycephalic and the long form of skull being a later development. I have attempted to show this in a diagram in which at the bottom we get the brachycephalic ancestral stock, from which originated the brachycephalic extinct Apes, *Dryopithecus* and *Sivapithecus*; then comes the branch that give rise to the brachycephalic Orang Utan; at a later period there arises the common origin of the other Anthropoids in which the tendency towards a long headed skull increases from the Gorilla to the Gibbon; finally on the left we get such intermediate forms as *Australopithecus* and *Pithecanthropus* and the various races of man in which we find a definite subdivision into long-headed and broad-headed forms.

If the phylogenetic development of the human race indicates, as we have just seen, that the broad head is the original type and that the long head arose as a variation from it, we should be able to find that same process can be detected in the ontogenetic development of the individual. It is, of course, well known that the general proportions of the body and limbs change enormously during the period that intervenes between birth and adult life; but it is not so widely recognised that these changes do not take place at the

same rate in all races nor is it realised that changes similar to those in the proportions of the larger parts of the body can be detected in the several parts themselves, and that while the proportion of the head to the trunk is changing during growth, so also there is an actual change in the shape of the head owing to the unequal growth of its length and breadth. Macalister has stated that "the infantile and primitive skull is relatively long and there is a gradual change, phylogenetic (i.e., racial) as well as ontogenetic (i.e., individual) towards brachycephaly." The statement is, however, only partially correct. Wissler (1927) has recently published a paper in which he deals with these body-changes in the inhabitants of Hawaii, and the conclusions that he draws are based on a large number of measurements. He shows that in certain measurements, as for instance, the stature, width of face, width of head, etc., the measurement reaches its maximum at about 30 to 35 years of age and from then on steadily diminishes. These changes are not the result of increased muscular development succeeded by atrophy, but are inherent in the parts themselves. I need not here go into details regarding all the changes to which Wissler calls attention, but I would especially direct your attention to the changes that he has traced in the cephalic index; he has shown that in the particular race with which he was dealing, the average cephalic index at 6 to 10 years of age was 84.7, at 16 to 20 it had dropped to 83.0, between then and an age from 31 to 35 it rose to its maximum

of 85.3 and, thereafter, steadily diminished throughout the remaining years of life till at an age of 76 to 80 it was only 81.5. Several other authors have called attention to the same changes. Hilden (1925) found as a result of a very careful study of the whole population of the little island of Runo in the eastern Baltic, that the cephalic index gradually fell, with advancing age, from 83.0 in children of 2 to 4 years, to 80.4 in adults. Wissler quoting from the work of Ivanovsky calls attention to the indication, reached by this latter author as the result of measurements carried out on a number of Russians during the great war, that conditions of famine may also produce similar results and cause an alteration of the cephalic index to lower figure, the head becoming narrower and longer. The work of Bose (1910) has also shown that the cephalic index is not even racially stable in a population that has migrated and that a change of habitat may result in a departure among the offspring from the type of skull that was characteristic of the parents.

If now these changes are going on in the skull-shape at the present day, it seems safe to conclude that they were equally in operation at that remote period of history in which Man was first emerging from the anthropoid stock and this is corroborated by a study of the skulls of anthropoid apes. I have already alluded to the work of Zukerman on the Chimpanzee and from the measurements that he gives it is clear that

the cephalic index in the young or sub-adult individuals is 80.6, while in the adults the average index is only 76.1. My own measurements of the skulls of the Orang utan show that we can detect the same changes in that species also; out of a total of 49 skulls that I examined and measured, 14 were quite young, the 1st molar tooth not yet having been cut, in 11 examples the 1st molar tooth had been cut not the 3rd, and in 24 the complete dentition was present; in these three groups the average cephalic indices were respectively 87.3. 85.8 and 83.2, thus once again showing a clear decrease with advancing age. In the series of measurements given by Hrdlicka, he has classed his examples as 'adolescent,' 'adult' and 'adult (ageing)' and the average cephalic indices in these three groups are respectively 83.9 81.05 and 79.4.

Table III; showing the decrease of the Cephalic Index with advancing age in Man and the Anthropoid Apes.

		Young.	Adolescent.	Adult.	Ageing.
Orang Utan (Author)	...	87.3	85.8	83.2	...
Orang Utan (Hrdlicka)	83.9	81.05	79.4
Chimpanzee	...	80.6	...	76.1	...
Gibbon	...	80.3	...	76.1	...
Man (Runo)	...	83.0	...	80.4	...
Man (Hawaii)	...	84.7	83.0	81.5	...

As Duckworth (1904) has pointed out, owing to the different configuration and especially to the formation of bony ridges in the skulls of adult Anthropoids, the cephalic measurements and in consequence the cephalic index in the Anthropoids are not strictly comparable to those of Man; but the above figures clearly show that the same

process is going on in all the forms during the advance of age. A high cephalic index in young children and women, and the tendency to the development of dolichocephaly in the adult and especially in the male, changes that can be equally detected in the Anthropoid Apes and Man, as well as the infrequency of the long-headed condition among the anthropoid apes both fossil and living, to my mind clearly indicate that the original human stock must have been brachycephalic, though a certain proportion of individuals probably exhibited a long head. Hilden (1925) from his examination of the population of the island of Runo further found that when he plotted the cephalic indices of the two sexes separately, they each formed a bimodal curve. Fisher (1923) working among the cross-bred strains of the Boer-Hottentots of South Africa and the Indian-Whites of North America found that there too a bi-modal curve could be detected in the cephalic indices. The number of Orang Utan skulls that I have been able to examine are too few to give any indication as to whether we can trace the same condition there; but Zukerman's measurements of the skulls of the Chimpanzee clearly reveals its presence in that species; in the females there are two groups having respectively cephalic indices of 80.2 and 74.1, while in the males a similar double curve is seen with the two modes at 76.9 and 73.7. An exactly similar bi-modal curve can be traced in the young, grouping the two sexes together, the two modes occurring at 84.2 and 77.2 (Text-fig. 3).

It thus seems clear that both in the Anthropoid Apes and in the human race we get identical processes going on, namely a gradual change with age from brachycephaly towards dolichocephaly, and the tendency to the formation of two groups differing in the proportions of the head, or in other words, a tendency towards dimorphism. It has been argued that the occurrence of these two groups and the formation of a bi-modal curve in the cephalic index of a race or a homogeneous population, such as those of the island of Runo, indicates an origin from two separate ancestral stocks; but if this were so we should have to make the same assumption in the case of the Chimpanzee, but I doubt whether any zoologist would admit such a possibility.

Such indications as we have been able to glean from the above facts would appear, then, to point to the conclusion that the original ancestor of the human race must have possessed a broad head, so far as the average of all the members of the race is concerned; but that certain individuals probably possessed a long head. We should therefore, be able to trace a similar condition of affairs in the most primitive races that exist at the present day. I have already alluded to the belief held by some that the most primitive Man is represented by such remains as those of Pilt-down and Neanderthal Man. Griffith Taylor (1927) in a recent publication has attempted from a study of the cephalic index and the known distribution of the various races that are living at

the present day, to trace the sequence in which these races originated, and he gives the following list :—

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Neanderthal | 5. Iberian |
| 2. Negrito | 6. Nordic. |
| 3. Australoid | 7. Early Apline |
| 4. Negroid | 8. Late Alpine. |

Taylor, however, admits that, although he places the Neanderthal race before the Negrito, a study of the distribution of the Negrito peoples shows that they must have been displaced by the migratory pressure exerted by the Neanderthals and that in south east Asia, at any rate, the Negritos were the first inhabitants. He even suggests that the two races may have originated quite independently in different parts of the globe and that the subsequent migrations of the Neanderthals drove the Negritos into the outlying areas that we find them inhabiting at the present time. Davenport (1925) in an analysis of certain data dealing with the Aboriginal Australians and the Black-White half-breeds, suggests that there was an originally wide-spread race of Neanderthal man, spreading from Europe in the west, and traceable through the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, the Veddahs of Ceylon and the Talgai skulls of Java to the Aborigines of Australia, and that various modifications of varieties arose from this race by mutations. He suggests that from this single stock one mutation led to the loss of black pigment, as in the Ainus. Another mutation, possibly a reduced endocrine (thyroid?) activity of the

pregnant mother might have caused many processes to have stopped before birth, so that the offspring would show many foetal proportions and traits as in the Chinese. Other mutations may have led to the loss of most black and most yellow pigment and the suppression of the supra-orbital prominence, producing the white race; and in this group brachycephaly may have arisen by a mutation, independent of that which produced the Chinese. Finally, a mutation of quite a different sort may have produced the woolly hair of the Negro and the frizzly hair of the Melaneseans. It appears to me, however, that Davenport's view entirely overlooks the fact that the condition of brachycephaly is probably the original ancestral character. The transition from brachycephaly to dolichocephaly begins in the Anthropoid stock but only in certain members of it and those too that are living in a certain area, namely, in the region of Africa and is not seen in the Orang living in Asia; and it only becomes general or, as we may say, the normal condition in certain of the human races. If, therefore, there were any changes, whether mutational or by the process of gradual evolution, these must have been in the direction of dolichocephaly from a brachycephalic stock and not *vice versa*, as I have indicated in Text fig. 2.

Personally, I believe that the first race of the so-called human species must have been the ancestors of the Negrito race or races, for at the present time there appear to be more than one descendant race derived from the original stock. Granted a tendency, such as we have already

noted, in certain human races and in the Anthro-poids, it is clear that, given suitable conditions of climate, food-supply, etc., one or other type, i. e., either the long-head or the broad-head, will tend to thrive to the extinction of the other type and thus these isolated colonies will be either long-headed or broadheaded. Keith, in a paper recently read before the Royal Anthropological Institute on certain skulls obtained by Sir Aurel Stein in central Asia, has pointed out that the old world or Eurasiatic population can be divided into zones or areas, an eastern and Mongolian region and a western and Caucasoid or Iranian region. The line of demarcation between these two areas, though it is not clean cut, can be traced for thousands of miles. The line starts from the north-west corner of Europe and terminates at the mouth of the Ganges; to the north and east of this line we get the Mongoloid type and to the south and west of it the Caucasoid type, or in other words to the north and east the chief skull form is brachycephalic and to the south and west it is dolichocephalic. In the neighbourhood of the line we get certain races and tribes which are intermediate both physically and geographically; these might be considered to be either hybrids, resulting from the crossing of the two strains, or an undifferentiated type that has not evolved into either form; the conclusion that Keith appears to have reached is that they are the latter and, as the evidence of the skulls shows, this line of demarcation between the two types was in existence

as long ago as 2000 years in much the position that it occupies to-day. It thus seems probable that the Mongoloid brachycephalic type has actually been evolved on the north-east side of the above-mentioned line and the Caucasoid, dolichocephalic type, which is said to become pure in the region of the Pamirs and the Oxus valley, has arisen on the south-west side of the line. The conclusion thus reached from a study of certain skulls, bears a close resemblance to the views that have been put forward by certain biochemists, who have attempted to trace the relationships of various races and tribes by means of their blood-reactions. The Hirschfelds (1919) found that all human beings can be divided into groups according to the serological reactions of their blood and they concluded that all races can be divided into two groups that arose by evolution or mutation from a common ancestral stock ; of these groups, the first in their opinion arose in north or central Europe and the second in the central Asian Plateau, while the present-day differences in different races and nations are due to migration and intermixture of these two original stocks. More recent research has tended to modify this view and to indicate that present conditions are not quite so easily explained. Ottenburg (1925) divides the whole human species into 5 types, but he has also clearly shown that in certain instances the blood reactions undoubtedly indicate the primary origin of the race ; thus the Hungarian in Europe and the Gypsies, both of whom have, according to history and tradition,

migrated westwards from some oriental country, must be grouped serologically with the southern Chinese in the first case and with the northern Chinese and the Indians in the second; while the Australian Aborigines show a blood affinity to the races of western Europe, where so many of the Neanderthal remains have been excavated and where we know Neanderthal man lived in large numbers, and it is from the Neanderthal race that the Australians are now generally thought to have descended.

I have already called attention to the view that the origin or at least one of the origins of the human race occurred in the region of the Sahara desert, or to be more precise in the region that is now desert but that was at the time this evolution took place an extremely fertile country. It has been pointed out by Peake and Fleure that about the close of the Tertiary period the storm zone, and in consequence the region of profuse rainfall, probably lay about where the Sahara desert is situated to-day, and hence in those times that area must have been an exceedingly fertile one covered with dense forests. Gradually the storm area seems to have shifted further to the north, the rainfall in the Sahara region thus became less, and, as a result, the forests that then spread all over north Africa became replaced by grass-land and with the final cessation of rain were converted into desert. The process is exactly what we have already

seen to have taken place in central Asia, and it seems possible, perhaps it would be too strong to say probable, that the similar changes in the two areas responsible for a two-fold origin of the human race or, zoologically, speaking for the evolution of two forms from a common ancestral stock, the brachycephalic type having evolved in the central Asiatic region and the dolichocephalic type in the Sahara area. At the time when the human race was first arising from its ancestral Anthropoid form, there were a number of giant Apes widely distributed throughout Europe and Asia; the genus *Dryopithecus* of the middle and late Miocene epochs includes in all seven known species, viz., *Dryopithecus punjabicus* Pilgrim, *D. chinjiensis* Pilgrim, *D. giganteus* Pilgrim from the Siwaliks; *D. darwini* Abel from the Vienna basin in Europe, *D. fontani* Lartet from France and Spain, *D. rhenanus* (Pohlig) from the Swabian Alps and *D. mogharensis* (Fourtau) from Egypt. It thus appears to be possible that the immediate forerunner of the human race was also widely distributed and that the evolution of the long-headed and broad-headed types may have arisen in different areas from a single ancestral form, and in this connection it is interesting to note that, as we have already seen, the appearance of the long-headed type of skull can be traced in the Chimpanzee and Gorilla, both inhabitants of Central Africa and, therefore, in the vicinity of the region in which at least one of the human strains may have arisen, the line of evolution passing through

some such form as the Taungs skull of *Australopithecus* to the normal condition in the African negro and the Mediterranean race. Hooton (1925) has pointed out that, with the exception of *Pithecanthropus* and the Talgai human remains, all the discoveries of fossil man have occurred in areas that are marginal to the great African tropical region, namely, either in Africa or in southern Europe. He comments in his paper on the resemblances between the Neanderthal, African and Australian races and the Gorilla, and between the Mongolian and the Orang, resemblances that have also been pointed out by previous authors, such as Keith, Klaatsch and others. As he points out "it is perfectly conceivable that an identical environment may tend to foster similar ancestral features in separate stocks of a common origin." He admits that both the regions of the Sahara and of southern and south-eastern Asia fulfil the climatic and palaeontological conditions that were necessary for the evolution of human race and that man may have originated in either area and have later migrated to the other regions, but he finally remarks, "at present I am inclined to think that one or more long-headed varieties of man evolved in Africa and one or more broad-headed varieties in Asia" and Keith (1927) holds that at the present day we have three main human types, the Negro, the Chinaman and the European, that have arisen in the regions where we find them. Can we now trace any factor that may have had an influence in deciding and determining the

character of the skull in such different regions. While Griffith Taylor (1927) has recently emphasised the importance of migration in the present distribution of the various types, Keith (1925) has come to the conclusion that migration has played only the most minor part in shaping the evolution of man. He points out that the more densely populated parts of the world are also the centres of most rapid evolution, and he affirms that we must presume, until we can prove to the contrary, that each racial type has been evolved in that part of the world where we now find it, and that we must apply this rule to extinct and fossil as well as to modern man. It seems to me that both factors must be taken into consideration and that certain facts can be best explained by the first hypothesis and others by the second. We have already seen that the two head types that we are considering can largely be separated into eastern and western groups and a recent paper by Mahalanobis (1928) has called attention to the fact that within the eastern group we can trace a distinct geographical variation, and, as he remarks, "the smaller the distance between any two regions, the greater is the resemblance between the inhabitants of these two regions, or the greater the distance between any two regions the greater is the divergence between the inhabitants of those two regions." "So much then for the horizontal distribution but there is another possible line of separation along which we can discriminate between the various classes of the population and that is the altitudinal distribution

or the height above sea-level at which the two skull-type are to be found. There can be little doubt that at the present day the broad-head type is associated with a high altitude. This is particularly clearly seen if we study the distribution of the two types in Europe; but the same holds good in other parts of the world and it seems clear that the brachycephalic type is directly associated with a high altitude, whereas the dolichocephalic type is connected with a low-lying country. Peake and Fleure (1927) have pointed out that "the Alpine zone proper, in Switzerland and the central Massif of France, shows as one of its most characteristic types a man with broad, round head without any striking development of nose or profile and with a rather short stature and thick-set build," and, a little later, they remark that the zone of high land extending from the Pyrenees, through the Alps and the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, Armenia, the Pamirs and onwards to Manchuria seems to be largely a belt of broad heads, while broad heads are also characteristic of the highland zones of America. In Text-fig. 4 I have shown the areas of the globe that have an altitude of 3000 feet or over and of the population in which 25% or more of the individuals are brachycephalic: much of the data on which this map is based is derived from Dixon (1923). The agreement, I think must be admitted, is a close one and it would probably be closer still, if we took the altitude as 2000 feet. Taylor (1927 and 1928) has ably discussed the zonal distribution of the long heads and the

broad-heads and, to account for the present day distribution, he postulates a world-wide migration of a later-developed broad-headed race that has displaced the older long-headed races; as he points out "there is a belt of narrow-headed races occupying Africa, India and Australia. They have been thrust away from the Behring corridor into the Yenesei valley and Japan. In America they are found only in the extreme east in the Hudson Bay region and in Brazil." Certainly this hypothesis appears at first sight to present a reasonable explanation of the broad outlines of present-day distribution; but it overlooks the fact that many details of distribution cannot be explained on the hypothesis of an early origin of the long-headed races and later origin of the broad-heads, these latter pushing the long heads into the remote regions of the globe, for it entirely ignores the distribution of the broad-headed Negritos, which, if their present day distribution is to be explained on the grounds of migration, must have been the first and earliest type and they must have been pushed by the later long-heads into the remote areas of South Africa, India, the Andamans and the Philippines, and, possibly, Tasmania. It ignores the generally accepted view that, when primitive man migrated, he did so along the river valleys and across the plains; primitive man can never have migrated along the great mountain ranges at heights exceeding 10,000 feet in altitude. The line of the great Alpine-Himalayan mountain range in Europe and Asia or the Rocky mountains and

Andes in America can never have been the line of migration along which the broad heads moved, pushing the long heads down into the fertile and more low-lying country. The natural sequence of migration must have been the exact opposite, and, if the present day distribution of the long heads be the result of migration, either voluntary or enforced, then either it is the long-heads that have pushed the broad-heads away from the fertile plains into the inhospitable high-altitude regions the intervening areas being occupied by mixed races, or else there is some physiological connection between life at a high altitude and the possession of a broad head, or, in other words, the broad head has been evolved as a result of living in mountainous regions and the long-head in low-lying countries.

This difference in altitude is one of the most marked contrasts between the two areas, namely the region of the Sahara and the central area of Asia, in one or possibly both of which the human race appears to have evolved. The region of the central Asiatic Plateau is one of the highest regions of the globe, while the Sahara is at or but little above sea-level. The fact that we can still trace a distinct geographical distribution and separation of the long-heads and the broad-heads, the brachycephals still associated with high altitudes and the dolichocephals with the plains, clearly indicates that the causative agent that first started the dimorphic tendency in the Anthropoid Apes, and later caused this tendency to become so

marked as to produce two distinct types in Man, must still be active, though migrations may have tended to blur the hard and fast lines between the distributional areas of the two types.

The researches of Hagen (1906), Bryn (1920), Fischer (1923) and others have shown that in crosses between the two types the condition of brachycephaly is dominant over dolichocephaly. After the lapse of time that has intervened since the evolution of the two types of skull, we should have expected to find that the vast bulk of the world's population would have been broad-headed; and since this is not so, we must conclude that there is some factor that is tending to preserve the dolichocephalic type. If, as I have suggested, this factor is connected with a low altitude, we should expect to find, as we do, that the brachycephalic type, having originated in and being perpetuated by life at a high altitude would by its dominance over the dolichocephalic type tend to spread beyond the strict limits of this altitudinal distribution and that the races nearer to the high regions of the earth would tend towards the brachycephalic type of skull, whereas those further away would tend towards the dolichocephalic type. We should thus get a series of zones exactly similar to those that Griffith Taylor has called attention to, with a brachycephalic central area and a dolichocephalic marginal zone.

What then are the factors that may have had this effect on the skull resulting in the production of two distinct types? It is possible that

one factor in the production of the broad head was the increase in the brain mass and the consequent necessary enlargement of the cranium. The size of the brain increases enormously as we pass from the Anthropoids to Man but I do not believe that the shape of the skull is dependant on the bulk of the brain, and in many of the prehistoric races of Man the size of the brain was considerably larger than it is in even the most civilised, and, presumably the most intelligent, races of the present day. Nor is the difference between the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic types due to any differential development of certain areas of the brain cortex or the different lobes. It is due to some inherent character of the body that causes the bones of the skull so to adjust their curvature that the enclosed brain cavity is either ovoidal or nearly spherical or some intermediate shape, as we pass from the various degrees of dolichocephaly through mesaticephaly to the extremes of brachycephaly. Now it is well known that the least surface area encloses the greatest mass when the shape of the object is spherical; a brachycephalic skull, therefore, will contain the brain with the least possible expenditure of calcium salts and the smallest amount of bone-formation, whereas the amount of bone required to enclose the same brain in a dolichocephalic skull would be considerably greater. It is thus possible that in the brachycephalic skull we have evidence of an attempt on the part of the body to conserve the amount of bone-forming

material and to enclose the brain in its protecting box with the the least possible expenditure of calcium salts. If this were the case, we ought to find that the condition of brachycephaly was associated with a similar tendency towards the reduction of bone-formation in other parts of the body and especially in the long bones of the limbs, the result of which would be to cause a diminution in the stature; and in the main this is actually the case. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Anthropological study of the American Army that was carried out during the great war of 1914-1918 showed that it was the men of short stature that were most prone to defective teeth. We thus get the association of short stature, defective teeth and the brachycephalic skull; and it would seem justifiable to conclude that the controlling factor in the production of these three characters is either a deficiency of calcium salts in the diet, or in the extent to which the body can utilise the calcium salts with which it is supplied, resulting in a lowered calcium metabolism and a reduction in the amount that is deposited or built up into the skeletal tissues.

We have already seen that the evolution of man from the Anthropoid stock was attained during and was in all probability the result of a change of climate from a moist, forest region to an open grassy upland or plain; equally associated with the change of climate and habitat must have come a change of food and a consequent change in the chemical composition of the food-material.

Foremost in importance from the developemental point of view in the food-materials are the Vitamines, those strange and only recently discovered elements that seem to regulate the growth and development of the body; and a change in the amount and nature of these ingredients of the diet may have been one of the most important factors in the evolution of *Homo sapiens*. At the present day we are acquainted with six of these vitamines; with regard to five of them the chemical nature is still obscure, but in the case of the sixth, vitamine D or the Antirachitic vitamine, we know that it may be produced from a fatty substance, known to the chemist as Ergosterol, by the action of sunlight and that, further, ergosterol appears to be an ingredient of all fats. At least two of the vitamines seem to be concerned in the regulation of the calcium metabolism and the formation of the skeleton. Fisher (1923) has shown that a deficiency in the diet of Vitamina A can in 5-8 weeks produce changes in the size and shape of the skull of rats. Vitamine D, however, appears to be the Vitamine that is pre-eminently necessary in the diet for the proper building up of the bones and teeth, and in climates that are by nature comparatively sunless there is a likelihood that this factor will be deficient. The first symptom of a deficiency in the quantity of this vitamine in the diet is a corresponding deficiency in the amount of calcium salts in the teeth and a consequent tendency to dental caries, and the magnificent teeth posses-

sed by dwellers in the tropics is directly traceable to this cause.

The sun's rays falling on the skin can produce from the fats contained in the sebaceous glands sufficient Vitamine D to serve the functions of the body or by a similar action on cattle can increase the Vitamine D content of the milk and so act in an indirect manner on the human being who partakes of milk in his diet. At the time when Man was first evolving from his Anthropoid ancestor he had not yet learned to domesticate cattle, so that this latter or indirect action of the sun need not be considered. In the case, however, of the former method, namely, the direct effect of the sun's action on the human being, the meteorological conditions prevailing in the Sahara and the central Asiatic Plateau, the two areas in which it seems possible that Man became evolved, must have been very different. In the plains region at or near sea-level, the actual amount of sunlight during the year must have been considerably greater than in a high altitude, especially in a high altitude during the Glacial epochs, since the increased cold must have resulted in the mountains and hills being to a very large extent shrouded in cloud and mist. Again, in such a plains region the air temperature must have been considerably higher than at an altitude of 3000 feet or over and, therefore, man's covering which in the early days of this evolution was hair, but at a somewhat later date was supplemented by skins, etc., must have been considerably thicker

and of greater amount in the high regions. In both these cases the effect will be a shielding of the skin from the direct action of the sun's rays and a consequent deficiency in the production of Vitamine D in the body. This, in turn, will necessitate a conservation and a sparing use of calcium salts in the metabolism of the body, that, while not sufficiently marked to produce changes that we might consider pathological, yet when continued over a number of successive generations may have been able to modify the metabolism of the body and cause a lowering or diminution of the bone-forming process, and so ultimately give rise to a race in which a broad head was combined with a diminished stature.

The evidence that we have been considering seems to indicate the possibility that the human race has either had a double origin, a brachycephalic race arising in the central Asiatic Plateau and a dolichocephalic race in the region of the Sahara, or that an original single ancestral stock early became differentiated into two such races. The proximity of India to Central Asia would lead us to expect that the earliest inhabitants of this country would be brachycephalic; but in this connection there are certain points in the geographical and geological history of this country that we must bear in mind. At the close of the Cretaceous Period and the commencement of the Tertiary Epoch India was an island, completely cut off from the rest of Asia by the Tethys sea that ran from east to west across the northern

coast of Peninsular India in about the position where to-day we get the great Gangetic valley. Whether man originated in the Sahara or in Central Asia or both, it is clear that his immediate precursor, that missing link, half man half ape, could not at that time have penetrated into this country, though he might have already migrated to other regions. Gradually, however, this intervening sea became obliterated. In the middle of the Tertiary epoch the Himalayas rose steadily and these upheavals, as has been pointed out by Pascoe (1919), "during the Nummulitic epoch drove the old Cretaceous sea westwards. Tibet and the whole of the Himalayas (with the exception of the Ladak Valley) becoming dry land. They, however, assisted in producing a depression along the base of the continuous series of mountain arcs, forming a gulf in which a constant struggle took place between the deposition of silt tending to fill up the gulf and the general subsidence tending to deepen it." With successive changes the gulf became more and more reduced in size but was continued to the east by a river, to which the name Indo-brahm has been given; still later the gulf became a series of lagoons or lakes, and, this stage proceeding yet further, there was formed in Pliocene times a large river that then flowed right across the whole width of northern India from east to west and opened into the Arabian Sea, where the Indus opens at the present day.

The first connection between India and the rest of continental Asia, in the middle of the

Tertiary epoch must, then, have been on the east and it was from the east that at about this period the vertebrate fauna of India poured into the Himalayan region and the country to the south; and probably with or following on the inroad of the the vertebrates, came Man and those closely related forms *Dryopithecus* and *Sivapithecus*. All through the later part of the Tertiary epoch and in the early Pleistocene the connection between India and Asia was increasing but at the same time the great mountain range of the Himalayas was rising higher and higher and this, combined with the effect of the Glacial period in Pleistocene times, probably proved a sufficient barrier to the transmigration across the range of the northern races.

The first immigrants, coming as they almost certainly did, from the north-east, should, if our previous conclusions have been correct, belong to that division of the human race that probably lay then, as it does to-day, in the region of central Asia and in consequence must have been brachycephalic. We have already noted that the earliest races that shows a broad head and probably the earliest race to appear in Asia is the Negrito stock, and both Hutton (1927) and Guha (1928) have recently called attention to the fact that we can still find traces of a Negrito strain in certain of the more primitive tribes such as the Nagas and the primitive tribes of Cochin.

The next invasion that appears to have taken place also seems to have come from the north-

east, and this second invasion was in all probability part of a big movement that has left traces of itself in India, in the Naga Hills and as far a-field as Melanesia; and has resulted in our still finding traces, such as the Megalithic culture of certain regions of India, that exhibit a distinct connection with the culture of the Melanesians. A third invasion soon followed but on this occasion the line of penetration seems, in all probability, to have been not on the north-east but on the north-west. The gradual changes that had been going on in the physical features of this country, combined with either the close, or at least a temporary withdrawal, of the Glacial conditions, permitted an immigration into India of the Proto-Australoid descendant of Neanderthal Man and thus give rise to the Pre-dravidian tribes that we still find scattered throughout the more inaccessible parts of the country. Still later came an invasion of Alpines from the region of central Asia and on this occasion also the invasion came from the north-west; and still later again the invasion of the Mediterranean Race through the north-west route: and one or other or possibly both of these last migrations seems to have been connected with the establishment in the Indus Valley of the civilisation that is now being investigated in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.

So much then for the past; and now for a few moments I propose to the future. Unless we believe that man has reached the end of his evolution and that the future holds no possibility

of progress, and I hope that there is no-one present who would accept such a view, we must admit that man is still changing. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that we should keep a record of what is going on, not only in the race, but also in the individual, for it is only by observations on large numbers of individuals that we can get evidence of what is happening in the race. It is now thoroughly well established that throughout the whole course of life the individual is continually altering. I have already referred to the changes that take place in the cephalic index with advancing age and exactly similar changes can be detected in many, if not in all, the other measurements and indices of the body. But these changes do not apparently occur at exactly the same age in the development of different races; they appear to be early in some and late in others. In order therefore, to be able to compare with the greatest degree of accuracy, measurements taken on different races and tribes, it is essential that we should know the ages of the individuals and their curves of growth. In the case of India but little work of this nature has been attempted, though the subject is one of great importance. With changing habits and customs there will, in all probability, be a change in the development of the individual and ultimately, in the development of the race. What, for example, is the result of education and the consequently necessary sedentary type of life at the most important period of an individual's existence, namely, the period from the onset of puberty to

the attainment of the adult stage, a time when nature is putting the finishing touches to her previous work, when the important molar teeth are being cut, when the bones are becoming consolidated, epiphyses joined to diaphysis in the long bones and the tips of the spinous and transverse processes joined to the bodies of the vertebrae in the back-bone ?

It is of the greatest importance that we should keep a record of such changes and I would urge every Educational authority to institute a system by which a record of every student is maintained. In England and other countries we now have Medical Officers from the Department of Health, whose duty it is to inspect the students and to see that they are given proper medical treatment, when such is required. These medical officers may point to the prevalence of certain feature such as stunted growth, myopia or defective teeth, etc., all of which observations are of importance to the Anthropologist just as much as to the medical officer ; and with a little more time and a few more observations, such as the length and breadth of the the head, its maximum circumference, etc., we might gain a very valuable addition to our knowledge regarding the development of the race as a whole, and the more detailed such a record, the more valuable it would be,

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APPENDICES.

TABLE I (a).

No. of Speciman.	Sex.	Max. Length. mm.	Max. Breadth. mm.	Ceph. Index.	REMARKS.
7972	♀	101	88	87.1	Pm 2 uncut.
7492	♀	101	91.5	90.6	M 1 "
3204(3-hhh)—		103.5	94.5	91.3	M 1 "
† (30.8.97)—		105	92.5	88.1	M 1 "
6659	—	105	93	88.6	M 1 "
3741 (3y) ♂		104.5	97	92.8	M 1 "
7974	—	106	91.5	86.3	M 1 "
3 fff	♂	107	91	85.0	M 1 "
1436	♀	108	96	94.0	M 1 cut.
9026	♂	109	96.5	88.5	M 1 uncut.
7325 I.M.—		109	94	86.2	M 1 "
I.M. Cat. 3m.—		110	90	81.8	M 1 "
8422	—	112	94	83.9	M 1 cut M 2 uncut.
333	—	112	98	91.1	M 1 cut.
7926	—	115	100	87.0	M 1 uncut.
3367; 3a	♂	115.5	99	85.7	M 1 cut M 2 uncut.
.....	—	118.5	97	81.9	M 1 uncut.
7691	♂	119	98.5	82.8	M 3 cut.
7968	♀	119.5	96	80.7	M 1 "
4 D	♀	123	99	79.7	M 3 "
4147	—	123	112	91.1	M 3 just cut.
7333	—	124	96	77.4	M 1 cut M 2 uncut.
3464 (30)—		125	100	80.0	M 3 cut.
3740 3a	♂	126	113	89.7	M 3 "
8005	♂	126.5	100	79.1	M 3 "
3 tt	♀	126.5	113	89.3	M 3 "
3 qq.	♂	127	114	89.8	M 3 "

Table 1 (a) ; giving the length, breadth and cephalic index of 27 specimens of Orang in the Indian Museum.

TABLE I. (b).

♀	Max. Length.	Max. Breadth.	Cephalic Index.
Sub-adult	... 99.0	85.5	86.3	M 1 uncut.
Adult	... 110	91	82.7	
"	... 111	89	80.2	
"	... 112.0	93.5	83.5	
"	... 115	93	80.9	
"	... 115.0	96.0	83.5	
"	... 115.5	90.0	77.9	
Sub-adult	... 117.0	99	84.6	M 1 cut M 2 uncut.
Adult	... 118.5	96.0	81.0	
"	... 119.9	97	81.5	
♂				
Sub-adult	... 107	94.5	88.4	M 1 and 2 cut M 3 uncut.
Adult	... 108	89	82.4	
"	... 113.0	92	81.4	
Sub-adult	... 114	97	85.1	M 1 and 2 cut M 3 uncut.
"	... 115	103	87.8	M 1 cut M 2 uncut.
"	... 117	99	84.6	M 1 cut M 2 uncut.
Adult	... 120	100	83.3	
"	... 120	104	86.7	
"	... 121	101	83.5	
"	... 122	101	82.8	
"	... 122.0	102	83.6	
"	... 125	100.5	80.4	

Table I (b). Measurements of 22 Orang skulls from the Raffles Museum, Singapore.

TABLE I. (c).

♀	—	Max. Length.	Max. Breadth.	Cephalic Index.
142183	adolescent	... 118	102	86.4
142181	near adult	... 119	94	79.0
142196	adult	... 121	97	80.2
142199	adult	... 121	98	81.0
142197	near adult	... 121	103	85.1
142194	adult	... 123	97	78.9
142188	adolescent	... 123	102	82.9
142189	adult (ageing)...	124	94	75.8
142198	adult	... 126	100	79.4
142192	adult	... 127	100	78.7
142195	adolescent	... 130	112	86.1

♂	—		Max. Length.	Max. Breadth.	Cephalic Index.
142187	adult	...	112	91	81.2
142193	near adult	...	112	92	82.1
142170	near adult	...	112	92	82.1
142190	adult	...	112	92	82.1
142202	adolescent	...	113	92	81.4
142169	adult	...	113	93	82.3
142185	adult	...	115	89	77.4
142182	adult	...	115	98	85.2
142186	adult (ageing)	...	117	96	82.0
142191	adult (ageing)	...	118	95	80.5
142201	adolescent	...	120	98	81.7

Table 1 (c) ; giving the length, breadth and cephalic index of 22 Orang skulls in the "Abbott" collection (from Hrdlicka).

TABLE I. (d).

(Author)	♂	Max. Length.	Max. Breadth.	Cephalic Index.
V. Bischoff	...	99	89	90.0
"	...	102	91	89.2
Selenka	...	115	98	85.2
"	...	116	99	85.4
"	...	116	99	85.4
"	...	117	102	87.2
"	...	123	106	86.2
"	...	126	107	84.9
V. Bischoff	...	128	115	89.8
♀				
Schwalbe	...	101	97	96.0
"	...	102	95	93.1
Selenka	...	109	93	85.3
"	...	111	95	85.5
"	...	111	97	87.4
"	...	115	97	84.3
V. Bischoff	...	120	95	79.2
Selenka	...	120	102	85.2
Sub-adult				
Selenka*	...	96	87	90.7
V. Bischoff	...	98	85	86.7
Selenka	...	106	91	85.8
Schwalbe	...	109	97	88.9
Selenka	...	110	96	87.3
"	...	113	98	86.7
Herve	...	128	106	82.8

Table I (d). Measurements of Orang skulls from previous authors.

TABLE II.

Hylobates.	Maximum length of Cranium	Maximum breadth of Cranium.	Cephalic Index.
Sub-adults			
7543	72.5	61.0	84.1
7831	73.0	61.0	83.6
7457	73.5	58.5	79.6
7649	74.0	58.0	78.4
7540	75.0	59.5	79.3
7541	75.0	62.0	82.7
7650	75.5	61.0	80.8
7547	75.0	61.0	80.3
7539	77.0	60.0	77.9
7923	78.0	63.0	80.8
7546	78.5	62.5	79.6
7654	80.0	61.0	76.2
Adults			
7913	81.0	62.0	76.5
7679	81.5	63.0	77.3
7544	82.0	65.0	79.3
7833	82.0	61.5	75.0
7837	83.0	65.0	78.3
7834	83.5	62.0	74.3
7878	84.0	61.5	73.2
7548	88.5	66.5	75.1

Table II ; showing the measurements of a series of crania of Hylobates in the Indian Museum.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. "THE COCKROACH'S RELATIVES".—A STUDY ON COMPARATIVE STORIOLOGY.

An English proverb says, that "It is a dirty bird that fouls its own nest." The lesson taught by this proverb is to the effect that no one should belittle or express contempt for his own family, caste, or tribe.

In order to impress this lesson upon the minds of young children, two races of Northern India have fabricated two folk-tales or stories, which bear a striking similarity to each other.

One of these folktales is current in Bengal. It does not appear to have been published ever before. But the Bengali text of this story has been very recently published in a Bengali monthly magazine. * The title of this tale is "*Arsolār Kutumba*" or "*The Cockroach's Relatives*". As this story is very interesting and has not been translated into English before, I give below an English translation thereof for the benefit of European and American storislogists :—

The Cockroach's Relatives.

The Cockroach regretted that, though they possessed wings, nobody ever called them birds. They therefore made up their minds to enter into

* *Vide* The Bengali Folktales entitled "*Arsolār Kutumba*", or "*The Cockroach's Relatives*" which has been published at pages 272-78. of the Bengali Monthly Magazine. "*Sishu Sāthi*" (Published by the Ashutosh Library, 39/1 College Street Calcutta) for Kārttika, 1331 B. S. (October-November 1924 A. D.)

matrimonial relationship with animals who were superior to them in status.

Thinking the Flittermouse to be superior to them, the Cockroaches, in a body, went to him and said. "We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriagiable age, we possess wings and are, therefore, called Cockroach-birds, but you are superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl".

But the flitter-mouse refused to marry her, saying: "I am not superior to you; you know that I am the servant of the Musk-rat, and get from him a salary of Rs. 3, as 8. As the Musk-rat is my superior, be good enough to go to him and request him to marry your girl".

Thereupon the Cockroaches, in a body, went to the Musk-rat and addressing him, said; "We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriageable age; we possess wings and are therefore called Cockroach-birds, but you are superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl."

But the Musk-rat refused to marry her, saying: "I am not superior to you. You know that I am preyed upon by the Water-snake who makes a meal of me. Therefore the Water-snake is my superior. So be good enough to go to him and request him to marry your girl".

Thereupon the Cockroaches, in a body, went to the Water-Snake and, addressing him, said; "We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriageable age. We possess wings and are, therefore, called Cockroach-birds; but you are

superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl”.

But the Water-Snake refused to marry the girl, saying : “I am not superior to you. You know that I possess but little renown, and can not inflict any mortal bite upon the hairy mongoose. Therefore the Mongoose is my superior. So be good enough to go to him, and request him to marry your girl”.

Thereupon the Cockroaches, in a body, went to the Mongoose and, addressing him, said : “We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriageable age; we possess wings and are therefore called Cockroach-birds but you are superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl”.

But the Mongoose refused to marry the girl, saying : “I am not superior to you. You know that I serve the tiger’s maternal uncle—The Jackal—is a meanial capacity. Therefore the Jackal is my superior. So be good enough to go to him and request him to marry your girl”.

Thereupon the Cockroaches, in a body, went to the Jackal and addressing him, said : “We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriageable age. We possess wings and are therefore called Cockroach-birds; but you are superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl.”

But the Jackal refused to marry the girl saying ; “I am not superior to you. You know that we are inferior to the dogs; for, on hearing their yelping, we skidaddle with headlong rapidity. Therefore the dog is superior to us. So be good

enough to go to him and request him to marry your girl".

Thereupon, the Cockroaches in a body, went to the dog and addressing him, said: "We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriageable age; we possess wings and are thereupon called Cockroach-birds, but you are superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl."

But the dog refused to marry the girl, saying: "I am not superior to you. You know that the Chāmārs or "leather-curriers" manufacture the leather-collars which are tied on tour necks. So we are mortally afraid of the Chāmārs. Therefore the Chāmār is our superior. So be good enough to go to him and request him to marry your girl".

Thereupon the Cockroaches, in a body, went to a Chāmār and, addressing him, said "We have got a very beautiful-looking girl of marriageable age. We possess wings and are therefore called Cockroach-birds; but you are superior to us. So be good enough to marry our girl".

But the Chāmār refused to marry the girl, saying:—"I am not superior to you. We Chāmārs are mortally afraid of you, because you seriously damage our leather, clothes and various other articles of domestic use by gnawing them. You do not even spare the oil which we use for anointing our bodies with, for you suck the same up. Can there be more destructive vermin than you? You have made our lives intolerable. Under these circumstances, you are our superiors. So be good enough to look out for a suitable bride-

groom from amongst yourselves, and marry your girl to him."

On hearing these words of the Chāmār the scales fell from the eyes of the Cockroaches who now realised that no tribe was superior to them, and that by going in search of a suitable bridegroom from among other tribes, they had gone on a wild-goose chase. Thereafter, they selected a suitable bridegroom from amongst themselves and married the girl to him.

The other version of the foregoing folk-tale is current among the Santals who are a Dravidian tribe living in the Santal Parganas of Bihar. This story is to the following effect:—

"Once upon a time, a Musabar having a very beautiful daughter determined to marry her not to a man of his own caste but to somebody else. So he and his wife began to determine who were the greatest persons in the world.

They thought that Chando—the Sun-God, was the greatest being in the world and so they decided to marry their daughter to him. When they made this proposal to Chando, the latter said that he was not the greatest man in the world, as the Cloud was greater than him, as he could hide his face and quench his light.

Then they went with their daughter to the Cloud who said that he was not the greatest being, as the Wind was greater than him as the Wind could blow him away in a minute. So they went to the Wind who said that, though he was very strong, the mountain was stronger than

him, as he could not blow away the mountain.

So they went to the mountain who said that though he was powerful, the ground-rat was more powerful than he, because the ground-rats burrowed holes into him and he could not prevent them from from doing so.

So they went to the ground-rat who denied that he was the greatest being upon the Earth and said that the Musahars were more powerful than himself, as the latter dig out the ground-rats from inside the earth and ate them.

The hopeless couple went home very much dejected, regretting that they had begun by despising their own caste and had gone in search for something greater and had ended where they began. So they arranged to marry their daughter to a man of their own caste afterwards.

Moral.

You should not despise your own caste or race. You cannot help what caste you are born into.*

The first variant of this story is current among the Bengalis of Lower Bengal, whereas the second one is prevalent among the Santals of who are a Dravidian people and speak the Santali language. Now the question arises; how has the similarity between these two stories arisen? Have the Bengalis borrowed the story from the Santals? or vice versa? Or have they been independently evolved?

* For a fuller version of this folktale, see pages 168-170 of *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. By C. H. Bompas. London: David Nutt. 1909.

I am inclined to think, for the following reasons, that the two stories have been independently evolved among the two peoples :

- (1) The leading characters of the Bengali Version are the insects known under the name of *Cockroaches* ; whereas those of the Santali variant are human beings who are no other than the members of the Musahar tribe.
- (2) The minor characters of the two stories are also quite different.
- (3) The style and language of the two versions are also quite different.

Mr Andrew Lang has very rightly remarked on this point:—"Just as the flint and bone weapons of rude races resemble each other much more than they resemble the metal weapons and the artillery of advanced peoples, so the mental products, the fairy tales, and myths of rude races, have everywhere a strong family resemblance. *They are produced* by men in similar mental conditions of ignorance, curiosity and credulous fancy, and they are intended to supply the same needs, partly of amusing narrative, partly of crude explanation of familiar phenomena. * †

Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

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* *Custom and Myth*. By Andrew Lang, M. A., London Longmans, Green, & Co. 1893. p. 125.

† This paper was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Bombay in January 1926.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

Man for December, 1929 opens with *A Note on the Method of Skull Ornamentation practised among the Konyak Nagas of Assam* by Dr. J. H. Hutton. The note is illustrated by a Plate showing the front view as also the profile of an ornamented Konyak Naga skull. "Some of the hair of the dead man is stuck on the forepart of the skull, in front of the spot where his hair was parted in life, to form a sort of fringe. The orbits are filled with white pith, in the centre of which the eye is represented by a bit of looking-glass, and a nose of pith is provided. The whole is painted in blue pigment with the tattoo pattern used in life." The fact that the specimen photographed lacks the lower jaw starts Dr. Hutton on a train of reasoning which leads him to infer that the Konyak Naga believes that it is particularly to the lower jaw that the ghost attaches; and it is pointed out that a similar belief is entertained by the Thado tribe of Assam, the Baganda of Africa, the natives of Guiana, the Ewe-speaking people of Togoland in Africa, and the Toradja of Celebes. He suggests that it may be possible to regard the occurrence of this belief in the attachment of the soul to the jaw in the Indonesian area as implicated in the distribution of the Oceanic Negroids.

In the same number of *Man*, Capt. D. H. Gordon contributes a note on *Momyāi*. He

points out that the word *momiyāi* is explained in a Punjab Dictionary as "A very high-priced medecine, said to be extracted from the human head. This 'Osteocalla', or rare medicament, in reality consits of hardened tar, petroleum or lignite". The writer also quotes accounts of *momiyāi* from Penzer's translation of *The Ocean of Story*, and from an article in *the Times of India Illustrated Weekly* on "the Mummayii", and concludes by emphasising that *momiyāi* is believed by the bulk of the masses of Northern India to be the secret of the superiority of English", and "the fact that the bulk of the English know nothing about it is universally discredited as a calculated evasion of the truth".

Man for January, 1930, opens with illustrated notes on (i) *An obsolete Kuki Metal Vessel*, and (ii) *Fire-making by Men and Women of the Old Kuki Clans of Cachar*, by Mr. J. P. Mills. The interest of the Kuki vessel which is obsolete now lies in the fact that it has exactly the shape of the gourd dipper. In the second note, Mr. Mills points out that among the Old Kuki clans of Cachar each sex has its own method of making fire by friction. These methods are described and illustrated.

In *Man* for February, 1930, appears the first instalment of an article by Mary Levin on *Mummification and Cremation in India*. By referring to passages in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, (regarding the Ritual of the Fire Altar), the *Maha-Parinibhānu Suttanta* (regarding the funeral of the Buddha), and the *Ramayana* (regarding funeral

of King Dasaratha), and to a monk's funeral in modern Burma (similar to funerals in Siam, Ceylon, Cambodia and Laotia) the writer seeks to establish that mummification and cremation were widely practised in India and the neighbouring countries. The writer points out that vestiges of mummification which preceded cremation can still be found in a number of modern Indian tribes such as the Khasis of Assam, the Magh of Chittagong, the Kanika (?) of Orissa, and the Todas of the Nilgiris.

In the same number of *Man*, Mr. J. P. Mills contributes a note on *An Ancient Stone Image in Assam*. This image he found in the Zemi (Kaccha) Naga village of Peisa in the North Cachar Hills. This consists of the representation of a female figure earned in low relief on a natural water-worn slab of stone. 'Little is indicated but the face, the breasts and the *pudenda*, the last being strongly emphasised by the use of one of the curious natural holes in the stone. The image is believed to promote the fertility of men, beasts and crops. It stands on a rough stone platform and leans against a monolith, and near it are twelve monoliths (obviously representing the male element and admittedly connected with the efficacy of the image). As the Zemi are entirely ignorant of the art of carving in stone, Mr. Mills supposes that it was made by the vanished race which once occupied parts of the North Cachar Hills, and has left numerous traces of its highly developed stone culture.

In the same number of *Man*, Mr. James Hornell contributes a note on *Indian Poltergeists*

and *Black Magic*, in which he seeks to make out that the phenomena of incendiarism, stone-throwing, dirt-throwing etc by some unknown agency described Mr. F. J. Richards in *Man*, March 1929 as happening in the Brahman quarter of village Arantangi in 1900, and similar happenings described by Mr. K. V. Krishna Ayyar in *Man* September 1928, and Calicut, attributed by Mr. Richards to "a common heritage of witchcraft lore", are really due to trickery.

In *Man* for March, 1930, Mary Levin contributes the second instalment of her paper on *Mummification and Cremation in India*. Details of the fire Altar Ritual are explained as pointing to its object as the attainment of immortality for the King.

In *Folk-Lore* for December, 1928, Prof. Maurice A. Canney contributes an article on *The Santals and their Folklore*, which gives a general account of the Santals based mostly on Rev. P. O. Bodding's two volumes on *Santal Folk Tales*.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September-December, 1929, Prof. Kalipada Mitra contributes another article on 'Deities of Jalkar' (a former article appeared in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XI, part II); Prof. S. C. Mitra contributes "Further Notes on the Dog-bridge in Santali and Lepcha Folklore", and a note "on the Indian Folktales of 'The Substituted Letter' type, and another note "On an Ancient Indian Beast Apologue and its Panjabi Parallel".

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* for 1929 contains two articles by Dr. J. J. Modi—one on 'A Vahi, or Register of the Dead of some of the Parsees of Broach, and Parsee Martyr mentioned in it', and another on "Gaur-Tappas, or Mounds of Bone Receptacles in Azarbaizan"; Principal J. McKenzie's Presidential Address on "Some Thoughts on Proverbs", Mr. S. S. Mehta's article on "Some Superstitions prevailing among the Hindus", Mr. S. N. Roy's note on "Select Proverbs and popular Sayings of the Housewives of Orissa", Rev. Dr. Enoch Hedberg's article on "The Celebration of Divali by the Mewa Bhils"; Mr. S. C. Mitra's "A Note on the Primitive Religion in the Ranchi District in Chota Nagpur", and "Observations on the Oraon Religion and Customs"; and the Editor's "Note on the subject of 'Vish-Kanya'".

The Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society for January, 1930, contains an articles by L. A. Krishna Iyer on, "The Malayarayans of Travancore", and another by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar on "Austrie and Dravidian". Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his "Studies in Bird-myths" and "Studies in Plant-myths" in the January number as well as in the April number of the same Journal in which Mr. L. V. Ramswami Iyer contributes his "Studies in Dravidian Linguistics".

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December, 1929, Mr. L. V. Ramswami Aiyer continues his "Notes on Dravidian".

In the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Mr. J. A. Steward contributes an article on "Spinning Magic" in which he gives a brief account of the magic use of spun thread and implements used in teasing cotton and spinning among the Taungthors in particular and the Burmese tribes in general, and cites instances from Greek and Latin literature of traces of (1) the use of the spindle for both magic and divination, (2) the use of the wool-beating rod and of the shuttle for purposes of magic, and (3) the magic use of spun thread.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and A Buddhist Pilgrimage.— *By James Bissett Pratt Ph. D. (Macmillan, 1928). PP. XII+718. Price 15 s. net.*

The student of Buddhism, and of comparative religion, will find much to interest him and enlighten him in this delightful volume. The author tells us in the preface that he undertook years of investigation and made two pilgrimages to Buddhist lands, in order to get a synthetic view of Buddhism, to group it as a whole, and also to discover the actual conditions of the religion as it is believed and lived to day. And the author appears to have fairly succeeded in his attempt. Professor Pratt very rightly points out that to give the feeling of an alien religion (*how it feels to be a Buddhist*) it is necessary to do more than expound its concepts and describe its theory. "One must catch its emotional undertone, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbol, its cult, its art, and then seek to impart these things not merely by scientific exposition but in all sorts of indirect ways". Our author appears to have succeeded in sympathetically entering into the spirit of Buddhism of many lands and many peoples just as another gifted author Mr. Fielding Hall succeeded in sympathetically entering into the spirit of the Buddhism of Burma and the Burmans.

The learned author points out certain persis-

tent characteristics which help to make Buddhism, in all its ramifications and in all its history, still one religion. It is pointed out that this essential spirit of Buddhism comprises certain qualities of character and feeling, of point of view, conduct and belief, which are not confined to any one school of Buddhism, whether Hinayana or Mahayana, but are to be found in typical Buddhists in all lands and at all times. Fundamental among these qualities is its inwardness,—its insistence on the subjective as having more importance than the objective. "Its glance is ever turned inward, and the events that go on within the soul it regards as immensely more significant than anything in the outer or material world can possibly be, only in the inner life does it feel at grips with reality..... With such a view of relative values it is natural that Buddhism in all its forms should regard as of primary importance the cultivation of the inner life. Self-discipline and self-control are the first aim of its earnest adherents in every land". The primary requisites for reaching the supreme goal are the Five Precepts—the five great rules of self-control (viz., not to kill, not to steal, not to be unchaste, not to lie, and not to drink intoxicants). The attainment of a spiritual freedom and inner peace that the external world can neither give nor take away, is the supreme goal which has to be reached by the destruction of Desire. He who through strenuous culture of the inner life has attained to this spiritual freedom and won the Great Peace, may snap his fingers

at whatever comes. The inner nature of this supreme goal has determined inevitably the characteristic form which the other Buddhist moral teaching and moral training have assumed. One outgrowth of the inwardness, gentleness and lack of aggressiveness which are so basic in the Buddhist character, is an unusual degree of intellectual tolerance and liberality of thought. These are the fruits of Buddhist *Innerlichkeit* or *inwardness* on its positive side. The characteristic negative results of Buddhist preoccupation with the inner is a corresponding neglect of the outer or the external world.

The morality which Buddhists preach and practice is mostly of a personal sort. Earnest and efficient effort for sociality, for the reform of society, for co-operation with others in making this a better world, for positive and effectual helpfulness towards one's neighbour, these are by no means incompatible with Buddhism, but there is much in Buddhism that makes them difficult. Our author tells us that outside of Japan he rarely found these things. Buddhism fortunately possesses a further characteristic which, our author thinks, may, at no distant time, to a considerable extent counteract the unfortunate consequences of its inveterate inwardness. This is its remarkable elasticity and its ability to respond to new needs. Already, as Mr. Uxbond tells us, "in both Siam and Japan the needs of the times are bringing out in Buddhism qualities of practical and efficient

activity in the external world which show that passivity and selfishness are by no means inevitable and unescapable consequences of its inward nature". Among the fundamental beliefs of all schools of Buddhism, are the universal confidence of all Buddhists in the complete dominance of the universe by spiritual forces. The Buddhist's spiritual and moral conception of the universe rests on the basal faith that nothing on the physical plane can destroy the life of the spirit, and that not only the spiritual but the material world is ultimately governed by moral laws. The fundamental Law of Reality, dominating all laws of the material world, is the law of Karma, that whatsoever a sentient being sows, that he shall reap.

The author has advisedly omitted all reference to the Buddhism of Tibet, Nepal, and Mongolia, because the form of Buddhism which prevails in those lands is so mixed up with non-Buddhist elements that it can hardly be called Buddhism at all.

The author has successfully endeavoured "to catch the emotional undertone of Buddhism, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel his way into its symbols, its cult, its art," and has thus been able to impart these things to his readers and enable them to visualise Buddhism as it is actually lived to-day.

Cultural Evolution: A Study of Social Origins and Development.—By *Charles Ellwood*. (*New York Century Co. Ltd.* 1929). PP. XII+267. Price \$ 2. 50. net.

This study of social origins and social development is divided into nineteen chapters, the first four of which treats of the theory of culture in general, and the next fourteen chapters deals successively with the evolution of Tools, of Food, of Agriculture, of War, of Clothing and Bodily Decoratin, of Housing, of Fine Arts, of Property, of Family, of Law and Government, of Morality, of Religion, and of Education and Science. The last chapter (XIX) is headed 'Cultural Retrospect and Prospect'. Professor Ellwood represents his idea of cultural evolution by a parabolic curve (reproduced a dozen times in the book) which "moves, though slowly and not without interruptions, toward the development of the distinctly human; namely of the rational, the social and the aesthetic elements in man's life". The whole development of culture from "animality" through 'savagery' and 'barbarian' to civilisation presents itself to the author as a parabola with the aberrations most intense as it passes round its focus. His graph represents culture as proceeding very slowly through 'savagery' up to the discovery of agriculture, and then more rapidly through 'barbarism' up to the invention of writing, from which point the course of culture deflects in the contrary direction and moves up more tardily through 'semi-civilization' up to the 'present time'. From

the present time, again, it will proceed much more slowly till in the distant future its rate of advancement to 'Full Civilization' will be immeasurably slow. It is not explained why the rate of progress in the future will be so disappointingly tardy. The past cultural history of man has indeed hitherto emboldened us to expect rather an accelerated motion in the future.

If the successive-stages theory of cultural evolution is intended merely to indicate historical happenings and not invariable and necessary sequences for each community or people, no exception can be taken to it. In his accounts of the development of the different cultural activities of man, the learned author has put forward generalizations and theories, most, if not all, of which would appear to be reasonable and probable. The book will be useful in the hands of students as also of the general reader interested in such studies.

Our Forefathers. The Gothonic Nations.—*By Gudmund Schutte. Vol. I. Translated by Jean Young. (Cambridge University Press. 1929). Pp. XII+288. Price 21 S. net.*

This book which is described by the author as a manual of the Ethnography of the Gothic, German, Dutch, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian and Scandinavian peoples, aims at supplying the lack of a systematic ethnological description of the peoples of Northern Europe. This volume gives a general account of

the earliest history and ethnography of the "Gothonic" people as a whole, and a second volume is intended to deal with each 'Gothonic' people separately. The book will meet the long-felt need of a scientific work on the subject in the English language. Professor Schutte is of opinion that the Indo-European had 'absorbed various diverging types of race in remote antiquity' and it would be somewhat premature, to identify them either with a long-headed "Nordic" race or with a short-headed type. Available philological data, according to our author, would point to an original Italo-Celto-Gothonic base on the sea-coast South-west of Denmark. The method of treatment is strictly scientific. A detailed subject-index accompanies the systematic, homogeneous series of sections. As a concise Anglo-Saxon manual of Ethnography, the book stands alone.

Our Face From Fish to Man: A Portrait Gallery of Our Ancient Ancestors and Kinsfolk together with a Concise History of our Best Features :—*By Prof. William K. Gregory. (New York: London. G. P. Putnam's Sons 1929) PP. XL+295. Price 18 s. net.*

In this book the author, a well-known authority on Vertebrate Paleontology and Comparative Anatomy deals with the phylogenetic history of Face from fish to Man. But he does not stop there and probes deeper into the fundamental problem of evolution—into the factors controlling its forma-

tion. He bases his arguments on the Geologic, Zoologic and Embryologic evidences of various animals and finds the anatomy of the human face as a heritage from the far-off shark-like ancestors which human embryos also recall. He shows that the human face, was the fundamental plan of its upper and lower jaws to the mammal-like reptiles and earliest mammals, the reptilian Sphincter Colli giving rise to the muscles of the face as it grew forward between the bony mask and the shin. Then he sums up the main arguments in favour of the primary arboreal ancestry of man and argues that with the assumption of the bipedal attitude we begin to sense the complexity of the factors influencing the emergence of the typical human face from a primitive anthropoid type.

In tracing the history of our best features he shows that in both apes and man, the bony framework of the face, the lips, the nose, the ears and the eyes show our enormous debt to our long line of ancestry. He does not omit to mention the importance of the Endocrines and the hereditary factors in determining our physical characters. Then he comments on the modern investigations tending to the discovery of the correlations between particular facial characteristics and the psychologic reactions. And finally he closes the book with his speculations as to the probable changes in man's face in the future.

But the greatest asset of the book is its lucid and popular style putting intricate technical details in a perfectly homely and novel way and

thus making it a valuable addition to books of popular as well as serious science.

P. C. B.

✓ **The Migrations of Early Culture :—***By Prof. Grafton Elliot Smith: Second impression (Manchester University Press 1929) PP. IX + 154. Price*

This is the second impressian of the well-known book of Dr. Elliot Smith consisting in a study of the Geographical distribution of the practice of mummification of the dead, the erection of megalithic monuments, the Sun and the Serpent worship, couvade, circumcision, swastika design. etc., as evidence of the migration of peoples and the spread of those customs and beliefs the association of which was first noted by Prof. Brockwell and enthusiastically investigated and elaborated by Dr. Elliot Smith and his school, as the Heliolithic culture complex. Dr. Elliot Smith argues that the psychological explanation of Independent Evolution as due to the similarity in the working of the human mind cannot be accepted to be the explanation of the peculiar distribution of these cultural traits, because the identity in the curious details and their distribution go against the assumption of any such hypothesis. Egypt, he considers to be the source of all these cultural drifts, which commenced at about 900 B. C. and influenced the world by maritime intercourse through

Babylonia, India, Malaysia, Polynesia to even as far as Central America, Mexico and parts of South America.

After the publication of the first impression of this book a lot of materials supporting this theory has been put forward by Dr. Elliot Smith himself, by W. J. Perry and others. And on the other hand, this Pan-Egyptian School has been challenged more than once, on historical grounds by various scholars; and modern investigations tend in many ways to cast doubt on this method of explaining these cultural traits. But in spite of these developments, this book together with other publications of his school of thought, afford food for serious thought and ethnological enquiry.

P. C. B.

The Mind of the Savage:—*By Raoul Allier*
(G. Bell and Sons: London 1929). PP. XIV+293
Price 15 s. net.

The present book is the translation of Raoul Allier's work entitled *Le non-civilisé et nous* published in 1927 by Fred Rothwell. In it the author has attempted to show how the all-pervading belief in magic has completely arrested the intelligence of the savage and distorted their mentality in its development. This conception is true not of the savage alone but is also true of civilized peoples as can be shown from the large array of superstitions still current among the ordinary people of Western Europe.

So far as the origin of magic is concerned, M. Raoul Allier considers that it is not simply the associations of ideas but the associations of emotions and their relief in features and utterances coupled with the law of least effort and a mental peculiarity ready to adopt it—that are responsible for it. Investigations regarding the psychology of the child may help a great deal in the clearing up of this problem.

Our author does not stop with the scientific aspect of the situation alone but goes on to the practical field even, and shows that the hiatus between the civilized ruler and the savage ruled must be bridged over, if the colonies are to be well administered.

P. C. B.

Anthropology and Modern Life:—*By Prof. Franz Boas (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London 1929) P.P. VII+246. Price 10 s. net.*

This is a popular book written by Dr. Franz Boas in which considers the effects of a number of fundamental biological, psychological and social factors upon modern problems and the immense importance of the study of Anthropology in our everyday life. He starts by pointing out how Anthropology treats of man as a member of a social group and considers the problem of race, anatomically, physiologically as well as psychologically. He emphasises the importance of the heredi-

tary as well as of the environmental factors in all these studies. He shows how the instinctive race antipathy can be broken down by dividing young children into small groups which are not divided according to the principle of race but according to the principle of cohesion that welds the group into a whole,—how nationality has only the slightest relation to racial descent and the emotional appeal stands at its root, and how often the demands of national and international duty are hopelessly at variance with each other. In dealing with Engenics and criminology, he shows that neither the environmental nor the hereditary factors should be lost sight of. Our authour then considers the stability of culture and how our educational methods should be guided by the application of generalised observations,—physical as well as mental—to the establishment of educational standards on boys and girls of a varying age belonging to a certain society, as the automatic actions based on the habits of early childhood are the most stable. And finally he closes the book by discussing how far modern Anthropological methods and deductions are applicable in the study of modern civilizations as well as of primitive cultures.

P. C. B.



The Cambridge History of India. Vol. V. British India, 1497-1858. Edited by H. H. Dodwell. (Cambridge University Press, 1929). PP. XXII+683. Price 30 S. net.

Students of Indian History will accord a hearty welcome to this excellent volume on the history of British India. Like its predecessors, it is the product of the co-operation of several specialists. It is satisfactory to find that one Indian expert was entrusted with the revision of nine out of the thirty-two chapters of the book. The volume deals elaborately with a most momentous period of Indian History and presents us with an up-to-date narrative compiled from original sources. An exhaustive bibliography of 45 pages is appended. Generally in controversial matters the general accepted view as also dissentient opinions are recorded. In a Note at the end of Chapter VII (Clive in Bengal, 1756-60), Mr. Dodwell seeks to refute Mr. J. H. Little's arguments against the correctness of Holwell's narrative of the "Black Hole tragedy" which used to be the accepted version of the incident up till 1915. The book will be found indispensable by every serious student of the History of British India.

Rural Sociology.--By John Morris Gillette, Ph. D., (New York. Macmillan 1928). PP. XIII+574. Price

This is a thoroughly revised edition of the author's pioneer work on *Rural Sociology* which appeared in 1922. The object of the book and the treatment of the subject have been set forth by the author—in his Preface to the first edition as follows:—“My chief aim has been to make clear the actual conditions of rural life. While the work embraces the whole field of rural sociology, it seeks to give a picture of the real situation of the United States by reference to the several sections of the country. Although I have carefully avoided generalizations and theories where there were no facts to warrant such interpretation, I have attempted to draw conclusions, and make inductions wherever the concrete facts permitted. I have not found it possible to suggest improvements in farm life at all points, but wherever remedies could appropriately be given, they have been presented”. *A Rural Sociology* is defined by our author as as “that branch of sociology which seeks to account for the origin and development of rural society, discovers, organizes and formulates standards and methods and interprets the facts concerning it and improving rural life”.

Its imperative need is to understand rural communities in terms of their conditions. Its next imperative need is to formulate right ways of action. As an applied science it has “more immediate regard for the practicability of principles and methods than has a general science”. Although the place of rural sociology as a science will not probably be yet recognized by most sociologists, such books as Dr. Gillette's have their place and their use-

fulness. The book presents a wealth of useful statistics and facts relating to the rural situation in the United States, such as rural health and sanitation, agriculture and agricultural labour, the tenancy system, standards of living among farmers, rural communication, conditions of women and home, rural school and education, rural church distribution, growth and decline of villages. In the last part of the book, the author discusses and makes useful suggestions regarding the nature and methods of rural progress and community building. The book is bound to prove very helpful to all interested in problems of rural life, such as the methods of developing rural leadership, mitigating rural isolation and organizing rural communities. It is very much to be desired that some of our Indian students should make intensive studies of problems of Indian rural life such as Prof. Gillette has made of American rural problems.

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✓ **A Hand book of Greek and Roman Architecture.**—By D.S. Robertson, M.D.—(Cambridge University Press, 1929) PP. XXIV + 406.

Students of architecture will find in this well-written volume an excellent manual succinctly but clearly setting forth the main facts, so far as hitherto ascertained, of the history of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman architecture, from the earliest times to the foundation of Constantinople. The seventeen chapters

into which the text is divided deal respectively with I. Sources of knowledge; II. Minoan, Crete, Troy, and pre-Mycenæan Greece; III. Mycænæan Greece and Homeric Architecture; IV. The Dark Ages: The Earliest Temples; V. The Earliest Doric and its Timber Prototypes; VI. Sixth-century Doric; VII. Archaic Doric; VIII. Archaic Ionic; IX. Fifth-century Doric to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War; X. Ionic in the Fifth century, and Doric and Corinthian in the late fifth and fourth; XI. Fourth Century and Hellenistic Ionic, and Hellenistic Doric and Corinthian; XII. Greek Theatres and other Buildings not Temples or Private Houses; XIII. Greek and Roman town-planning, Etruscan and Early Latin Architecture; XIV. Temple Architecture of the Roman Republic; XV. Temple Architecture of the Roman Empire; XVI. Roman Construction, Arches, Vaults, and Domes; XVII. Basilicas, Theatres, Amphitheatres, and other Roman Monuments; XVIII. Greek and Roman Houses and Palaces. In the text only accounts of selected buildings of importance have been given, whereas in Appendix I about 370 distinct monuments have been tabulated chronologically, with comments. All bibliographical information has been advantageously relegated to Appendix II; and in Appendix III the author gives an useful Glossary of ancient and modern technical terms. A General Index takes account of the text as well as the Appendices, A large number of illustrations add to the value and usefulness of the book. Both in the materials

embodied in the book and in the method of treatment, the book is a model of what such a hand-book should be. It is very much to be desired that some scholar should prepare a similar up-to-date hand-book of Indian Architecture.

The Custom of Couvade—By Warren R. Dawson, F. R. S. E. (*Manchester University Press*. 1929) PP VIII+110. Price 7s. 6p. net.

In this handy volume, the author has gathered together in a convenient compass all extant data regarding the curious and interesting custom of couvade. One hundred eighty-five different authorities have been laid under contribution, and a list of authorities have been given at the end. The first chapter starts with a definition of the term, and introduces the subject generally. In chapters II to VI, the author has grouped, in rough geographical order, instances of the occurrence of the custom; in chapter VII the geographical distribution as a whole is considered; and in the last chapter (VIII), headed the Significance of Couvade, a summary is given of the views put forward by various writers as to the meaning of the custom, with the author's comments on them. On a review of all the instances of couvade assembled in the book, our author is of opinion that—
 "We cannot state that there is a uniform psychological belief

innate in all primitive races in the existence of a mysterious relationship between father and child merely because we have evidence that in some cases this is, or may be, the case. Some of the instances of modified pre-natal couvade that have been quoted seem to imply a close connexion between husband and wife, rather than between father and child". the author ends with a *hint* as to a probable explanation of the custom in the following words:—"Whilst I merely throw out the suggestion that couvade may originally have been part of a religious ceremonial which was afterwards invested with new and varied significance and made a mere family concern, I am conscious that this hint is very far short of an adequate explanation. In the meantime, until fresh facts come to enlighten us, we must, with Ploss, humbly admit that the state of our knowledge regarding the original motive of the couvade custom is expressed by a single word—IGNORAMVS".

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1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—Twelve Rupees.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :—"In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :—"I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The

book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

The Nature (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

The Discovery. (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the Oraon social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

The Statesman (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

The Forward (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works—*The Birhorz*, *The Mundas* and the *Oraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

The Modern Review (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *the Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on "*the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

N. B.

As only a limited number of copies have been printed, intending purchasers are requested to place their orders with the undersigned without delay.

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2. THE BIRHOES : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. (Ranchi : "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, 1925).
Price Rs. 10/-; or 15 s.

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.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities as mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

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It is a work of great interest and high value as a full and accurate description of an Indian Hill-tribe. I congratulate you on having produced it. You must have given much time and labour to the researches which you have embodied in this book. But the time and labour have been well spent. The description seems extremely clear and well written in the simple language which is appropriate to the theme, and the translations of the poetry are charming.

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. X. } APRIL—SEPT., 1930. { No. 2 & 3.

I. ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COLLECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL MATERIAL. *

By

REV. P. O. BODDING, M. A., F. A. S. B.

When after much doubt and with a good deal of diffidence I agreed to accept the honour of presiding over the anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress this year, my principal reason for accepting was that I felt that this congress would give a unique opportunity of urging certain considerations on the Indian students of anthropology.

As we all know, the science of anthropology covers a vast field,—that of humanity itself. We need to know ourselves and we want to know ourselves, not only as we are within our own limited boundaries, but also as part of the human race. We need to know ourselves, as we are to-day, our customs, our ways of living and conducting ourselves, our beliefs, what we believe, and how we

* *This is the Presidential Address in the Section of Anthropology of the Indian Science Congress at its annual meeting held at Allahabad in 1930.*

practise our beliefs. We need to know all this not only as it is, but also as it has become what it is, the development, the result of which has made it all what it is, the factors that have worked together to produce the present result, the more or less unconscious development that takes place everywhere and also the outstanding personal factors that from time to time make themselves felt.

Anthropology is as a science divided into two sections, physical and social anthropology. It is not for me here to say anything of the first; it has been dealt with at previous sessions of this Science Congress in an excellent way. I wish however, as in a parenthesis, to be permitted just to draw attention to the many problems that await solution through the works of the scholars who are occupied with this side, problems that cannot well be solved by unassisted individuals. I refer particularly to the system of physical measurements. A little has been done, but very much remains to be done to get this real foundation of the one section of anthropology securely laid. Might it not be a task for the Indian Science Congress to get this matter started by making an application to Government, to get people trained (especially medical men), to have the necessary implements made or purchased and to have the required forms and papers printed?

What I wish to concentrate our attention on here to-day is the immensity of anthropological material lying in our midst, and partly untouched, and the pressing need of getting the material

collected without delay. It is generally computed that between one-fifth and one-sixth of the human race lives in India, and this is very far from being a homogeneous mass. People living near each other are liable to intermix both physically and socially and to influence each other in several ways. In certain localities we may here in India find a nearly homogeneous or pure race of people; in others we have a large number of types that cannot possibly be descended from the same race.

Anthropological measurements are a sure guide, so far as they take us; but they are concerned with only one side: the assistance of philology and social anthropology is required to complete the investigations and find out the possible origin of all, and the ways by which all has reached us.

Our first task is to find out exactly what we have. Here there is one matter that I particularly wish to urge on all anthropological workers. Let us get an accurate, full and detailed description of any common, *i. e.* customary act or doing. This is the first consideration. Try to explain, if you can do so; it will be a help and a possible guide for those whose life work is the study of these matters. You may give suggestions of possible solutions of some of the many problems. What is of primary importance is to get an exact description. This will remain on record and will, in the hands of the experts, be what they will use and have to use, and what they will ultimately build their conclusions on.

It is unnecessary to point out that by

furnishing such material Indian workers will be able to influence anthropological science to a considerable degree. A person may pooh-pooh a theory, but he will have to reckon with facts, if he does not want to become a back number and in long run be left out.

Permit me to urge this matter a little further on our Indian fellow-workers, both those who live in towns, and more particularly, those who live in the villages or are intimately connected with village life. There are so many things that are of daily occurrence, so much a matter of habit that we are scarcely conscious of them at all, and as likely as not, we do not deem them worthy of special or any notice. This may be the case, they may be of little importance; but just as likely they may be matters of real importance from an anthropological point of view. Why should such a matter be a commonly accepted and practised habit? Why not make a record of what is known? The result will surely be of interest, both to us and to those who come after us.

A custom may be a daily habit in one place, it may be unknown elsewhere. We may get a description of the same matter from different parts of the country. We may find that it is identical or that differences are met with in details. Then the question arises, what are the causes of the differences, are they individualistic and local or due to some extraneous influence? Further, we may find

more or less the same things among peoples of different races, a fact opening out fresh problems that demand solution. We may hear of strange things met with in India and parallel ones met with in distant countries, where there seems to be no possibility of interaction or a common source. If we had the time I might as an example mention a curious custom observed by Santals and something very similar observed by old women, or anyhow some old women, in parts of Norway.

This recording serves another purpose. Nothing living remains unaltered. A custom, or whatever it may be, will with very few exceptions, develop, be somewhat altered or be gradually lost. More or less unconsciously the form will change in small details to suit the needs of those concerned; or else the attitude of the people may become changed. A custom may be changed or given up. There may be many causes for this. It is an observable fact that it so happens. It serves no purpose here to single out and praise or blame the possible agencies. We have to face the fact that customs for some reason or other change. Old, interesting, even essential matters may be entirely lost to our knowledge and understanding of certain sides of human life, if they are not preserved by being recorded.

I am here at a point that I wish particularly to lay stress on, because it shows the great need of recording what is to be found.

To show the need, or in any case, the desirability of collecting and recording I shall ask you to let me tell you a little of what is happening in an aboriginal people among whom I have been living for many years, viz., the Santals.

The Santals have some curious and very interesting traditions; it is at the present time not possible to make sure of their age and origin; in any case they must be old, and the way in which they have been kept alive goes far to prove age. The traditions commence with the creation of the world and especially of the first human pair, tell of human history, of the fire-rain that destroyed all mankind except one righteous pair, how humanity was divided and how the ancestors of the present day Santals wandered from place to place right up to now. A resumé of them is recited at least twice in the life of every Santal. The first time is, when they perform certain ceremonies that give a Santal the rights of a full member of Santal society. Without having been through this ceremony a Santal cannot be married and cannot be cremated when dead. The person concerned is at the time, so to say, given his or her place in living Santal history, the recited traditions in this case commencing with the parents of humanity and ending with the story of how the people come to their present abode and the birth of the youngster.

The next time is at the last funeral ceremonies,

when the dead one, so to say, is formally sent out of this world and given over to those on the other side, especially our first parents. I have mentioned this just to show that in any case for some very considerable time the traditions must have been kept alive among the people. They have been kept by their *gurus* who have been officiating as reciters at social ceremonies. It is a fact, that these *gurus* are becoming few and seem to be disappearing. The traditions have fortunately been recorded.

In these traditions there is one very peculiar matter to which I wish to draw attention. They mention that at a particular time when the ancestors had moved away from a country called Champa (possibly the country on the western border of the present Chota Nagpur plateau), they stopped at a certain place (possibly near the sources of the Damuda river). Here they were deliberating, whether for twelve days or for twelve years they declare they cannot say any longer. The result was that the ancestors decided to give up certain customs in connection with the principal events of a Santal's life and to introduce new ones (the purification ceremonies in connection with birth—or name-giving—and the giving of full social rights to every individual, further ceremonies in connection with marriage and death). Before this event they buried their dead ones, and from this time they commenced to cremate.

The new ceremonies and customs were adopted generally under the influence of Hinduism, a matter expressly admitted in their traditions.

It is significant that practically all the names for relationship brought about by marriage are of Aryan origin. This naturally does not mean that the ancestors of the Santals had no marriage arrangements previous to this time, but the new arrangements may have introduced certain new special relationships, not previously recognized. There are in connection with their present very elaborate marriage ceremonies a few expressions that may constitute a remnant of former customs and may possibly point to a method of marriage by capture (as, *e.g.*, some money is paid "to put down on, *i.e.*, to cover the tracks," as it is styled). This has, in fact, been done away with and instead of having a proceeding that might establish enmity the present marriage customs are intended to bring about exactly the opposite. The common Santal name for marriage is *bapla*. I have no doubt that this is a reciprocal form of *bala*, a word, as you will know, comes from Sanskrit. A marriage to the present day Santal consequently means mutual strengthening, namely of the two families. Marriage is, when regular, arranged between the families, the two most concerned not being permitted to have any intercourse before marriage; now-a-days they are permitted just to see one another at a distance and on this foundation to declare whether they are willing to be married or not. It is unnecessary to point out what a difference this presupposes between the present and the probable former custom. The parents of the married couple speak of each other as *balañ hōr*, lit. my strength's

person, and speaking together to each other they use the inclusive plural (we, you and I or we), even when referring to only one individual meaning either the speaker or the person addressed.

We have here an example of how one people is influenced by another, resulting in deliberate action. Of what value to science would it not have been if the previous customs of the Santals or rather of their ancestors had been recorded and known? But there was no one to record them. We can only conjecture. Knowing the real Hindu customs and the present day Santal ones in connection with marriage we may draw certain conclusions, but can never ascertain the previous reality.

We may not have anything absolutely identical at the present time; but a change is taking place among many of the Indian races, more specially among the aboriginal ones, sometimes unconsciously, brought about by constant contact with the more civilized peoples, sometimes consciously and willed, in analogy on a smaller scale with what happened, as just told, with the ancestors of the Santals.

On the other hand, the great communities may in certain ways be influenced by the smaller ones. It is a great task calling on Indian research workers to find out, so far as it is possible, what may have gradually crept in from outside and been assimilated, or what are the customs, etc., original and adopted ones, among the many peoples or tribes that have in the course of time established themselves as adherents of one or other

of the great communities. The first step towards solving these problems is to get true and faithful, detailed statements of ascertainable facts.

The smaller communities are, to revert for a moment to what was said above, on their side constantly influenced by the surrounding peoples, in certain cases unconsciously, in other cases knowingly.

Well-known examples might be mentioned. The late Sir Herbert Risley in his introductory remarks to his work "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal" refers to some instances. I have been in contact with some of the cases mentioned, *e. g.*, with those who now call themselves Rajbangshis in western Assam, further with the Pulias in north-eastern Bengal, the Pahāriās and the Bhuiyās in the Santal Parganas. In all these cases we have non-Hindu communities deliberately attempting to pass themselves off as Hindus, strangely enough frequently as descendants of Rajputs. In the two last-named cases we have so-called semi-Hinduized tribes who aspire to a higher position in the caste system.

In all cases it would be of great value to anthropological science to be able to follow this development, and there is no other safe way than to get records of what there is and what is coming on, of what the changing customs, are, with all details. If it is not done, we will be without knowledge of much.

To mention one more example, viz., the present state of the Santals. It is an undoubted

fact that Hinduism is gradually influencing the people. At the Hindu festivals the Santals are participating spectators and are responsible for most of the noise; they are not properly worshippers, but participators. Individuals have commenced to worship Kāli; in times of scarcity some Santals (even some of their leaders) have in their own special way worshipped Mahadeb, *i. e.*, Shiva. Under Hindu influence many, especially Santals of the well-to-do class, have commenced to marry their children while quite small, while the original custom was and now still generally is for marriage to take place when the parties are grown well into maturity.

Under foreign influence the Santals are gradually, it seems, developing into a kind of agricultural caste, while they have originally been willing and able to do all kinds of work. Many customs are gradually creeping in, more or less unconsciously. I might mention a good many instances that have come under my observation. It is not, however, the place to enter into details here. When I have said as much as I have, it is to point out that if the present state is not recorded, no one will, in time to come, be able to have any certain knowledge of customs, etc., that have been, what has been lost or what has been newly adopted. What is the case with the Santals will be the same with a large number of peoples living in India. While there is time, let us get detailed records.

You will permit one who has had some experience of this kind of work to offer a word of advice. My experience has taught me to be very careful, that is the way to get the facts, not what oneself may start thinking it is from theories gathered from elsewhere. These may be helpful; but it is quite astonishing how easily one may be led astray. Testing and re-testing statements is absolutely essential, and here a sound knowledge of the language is necessary.

There are two things more I wish to mention in this connection. First, concerning the study of the language, if it is not the language of the recorder. It is quite astonishing what close study of the language may reveal. It will not generally give dates, but it will give points to understand development and foreign influence; take as an example what was mentioned above about the present-day Santal names for marriage and relationships brought about by this. Or take the names of implements, and domesticated animals; it means something when it is known that the word used cannot possibly be one originally belonging to the people. Or, another consideration: the language will in many cases be a direct help to understand the mentality of a people and to show in what direction anthropological investigations might be fruitfully turned.

The other subject I would like to draw particular attention to is the folktales. These

are found among all peoples. It is quite unnecessary to point out to you, who are assembled here, the value these have from an anthropological point of view. The folktales contain matter that touches most sides of the cultural life and the beliefs of those who have them. From some points of view they may be quite invaluable. They may be original, they may be borrowed. Even if borrowed, except perhaps in first-hand borrowing, they will in details reflect the mental qualities of the borrowers, and more so the longer the story has been told. In this connection I shall mention only one matter, the reason why I have mentioned this at all here. I am under the impression that folktales are being forgotten at the present time, not only among the more civilized peoples, but everywhere. I know that this is the case among a people like the Santals. I have during my life among them collected a very large number of folktales. Some of these stories are not heard any longer. Those who knew them are dead, and they did not succeed in transmitting the stories to others, because the younger generation did not care to learn. As the years pass, most, I am afraid, will be lost, and my impression is that what is lost is the best part of the folktales.

As a supplement to the folktales we have the reminiscences of old people, their own or those they may have heard from their parents and grandparents. There is nothing that is

without interest; even if not published at present, if only written down and kept in safe places, later generations will use it and be glad to have it. In Europe and elsewhere the universities and learned societies have chairs and sections for the study of folklore; what they have to work with is partly what is being collected everywhere among the peoples. A little is being done in India, why not try to get a good deal more done?

Here I bring my remarks to a conclusion. There is much more I should have wished to touch on, *e.g.*, to mention only one matter, all what is living and found in the women's section of society, of the greatest interest and importance and really so little known, also undergoing change and development, much is still to be had now that in time will not be obtainable any more, perhaps also matters that this conservative section of society has preserved and that are not heard of any more among the men.

We have all experience of how matters may at the present day change, to a very large extent due to the facilities for moving from place to place. There is no place in India so remote or difficult of access that outside influence will not make itself felt. I feel sure, it would not be possible to happen any more what once happened to me in a village among the Santal hills. The headman came to me and asked me to go from house to house and

let people see me, because there were several old women who had never seen a white face. People travel; for a few annas one may get far away from one's home. Even if some always stay at home, people from outside will reach them. Inevitably, consciously or unconsciously people will be influenced by what is seen or heard, and some change will be the result.

It might have been expected of me to give a resumé of the present state of anthropology. I had to choose, and this would have prevented me from saying what has been my one object, viz., to urge on you and all who take an interest in these matters, to use the opportunities we have for collecting and recording anthropological material, before it is lost. This will help us to know ourselves and it will furnish scholars all over the world with what they will and must use in their work. We have in India just as much as, if not more than, there is in other parts of the world. May the materials be collected before it is too late.

We have in India certain learned societies and certain public libraries that I am sure would be glad to receive all materials, if not for publication at present, then at least for keeping all in deposit. It might be desirable for anthropological science to get an institution for collecting. May we get it.

II. SOCIAL ORGANISATION AMONGST THE KORWAS.

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A., P. R. S.

Lucknow University.

The Mirzapur Korwas are apparently an offshoot of the Korwas found in Palamau and adjacent areas. There is no subdivision of the branch in Parganah Dudhi. If there were any, the divisions are entirely forgotten and the entire Korwa population forms an endogamous tribe. There is hardly any tribal tradition current amongst the people; their memory is short and they cannot remember things. They are poor as well as improvident. If they raise a bumper crop or earn sufficient money, they are anxious to spend it. They usually display an absence of interest in life, in their daily conduct and activities, the factors contributing to this attitude have been described in detail elsewhere.

The members of the tribe generally keep aloof from those of other tribes who live in the vicinity and they hardly take part in any of the activities of the other tribes. They are seen moving in groups of five to ten from jungle to jungle in search of fruits and roots. Difference in age being seldom regarded as a bar to intimacy, young and old meet and talk to with little restrictions or privacy and all sorts of conversations take place which make them lovable. Age no doubt is respected and the young generally follow the guidance of the

aged. The tribal council, where all disputes are arbitrated, is presided over by an influential old man, who always takes the advice of the Chero Baiga who is the depository of all spirit-lore. The leader of the council is a hereditary official but in case the incumbent happens to be young, the office is temporarily held by the oldest male member of the family who voluntarily relinquishes his job as soon as the permanent incumbent signifies his intention of shouldering the responsibilities of office. But hardly the young man takes the role from the oldest member, though his prestige and position remain unaltered by the change.

The deliberations of the council are strictly confined to the tribe and even the evidence of other people is not invited or accepted. Young and old, all sit in the council and the verdict of their joint deliberations is final. There is no admission ceremony for new members of the council nor is there any fixed age when admissions are to be made. Whenever any matter comes up for decision, the leader of the council summons all members of the village along with those interested and freely discusses the matter with them and only when unanimity is reached is the verdict pronounced. Every one is heard and the members take sides but no bad blood is created by these deliberations. The decision generally takes the shape of communal feasts, expenses of which are met by subscriptions which

display the catholicity of the donors. On one occasion I attended a sitting of the council at Kundpan in the interior of Dudhi. Some twenty men met to decide a case in which a particular Korwa was charged with having deliberately refused to part with a stray hen which must have been let lose by some other village. Cholera and small pox were raging in an epidemic form in the neighbouring village and it was the duty of every villager to see that stray birds did not enter his village for the custom prevalent in the Korwa country is to approach the Chero Baiga in times of epidemics, who leads the villagers to the outskirts of the village and chants hymns in honour of Burimata, Kodmamata, and Sitalamata and offers sacrifices of hen or goat to appease them. The hen or the goat thus sacrificed is not killed but a piece of torn rag is tied round the leg of the bird or the neck of the goat and is chased out of the village till the poor creature enters the boundary of the neighbouring village. The method of driving the bird is to pelt it with stones while the goat is carried by some villager in his arms who places it within the boundary of the adjoining village. Special care is taken to see that it does not return to the village where it has been 'sacrificed'. Whenever such a hen or goat is found to enter in any village, the members grow pale and mobilise themselves to chase it out of their village in the manner described. It is not killed or burnt because it is against established usage.

Now this man who awaited his trial by the village council should have joined the villagers in driving out the hen out of the village area but he paid no heed to the remonstrances of the latter and would not part with the bird which he declared was his spoil. During the discussion which followed in course of the trial, the position of the offender was cleared and it appeared to rest on a misunderstanding. The hen had no rag tied round its leg which made the man think that it was not a 'sacrificed' bird, so he wanted to appropriate it for his food. The verdict was quite intelligent. The man was exonerated but was slightly censured for he did not believe the villagers when they told him that the bird ought not to be thus appropriated. Whatever brings or is likely to bring disaster to the whole village or a member thereof should be avoided for it is not the sinner or violator who bears the punishment of his sin or crime, but the entire village, for an individual is only a part of the community which is represented by the headman.

The unit of social organisation amongst the Korwas is the family which consists of man, wife and their children till the latter are married. But nowhere is it found to merge so completely in the community as in the Korwa country. The individual has no place except as member of the family which again loses its entity in the community. The idea of social solidarity is so strong that an individual regards himself as part

and parcel of the village community, and in all matters his activity is guided and controlled by the standard of good or evil that is likely to result to his community. He obeys the customs, traditions and observances of the community with a rigid determination which stifles his personality. He obeys and implicitly conforms to the unwritten laws of his society because he is afraid lest by his violation of them he would bring disaster to the community. His endogamy is the result of a conscious adjustment to the standard of social conduct which refuses unfamiliar alliances because they might bring in calamities to the entire group. He is constantly in dread of sorcery and witchcraft for which he has no remedy but to offer prayers and sacrifices to a number of malevolent spirits. He does not know the activities of these spirits, so he has to approach the Chero Baiga for information. The latter makes an elaborate preparation for divining the cause of the trouble which only contributes to his restlessness. Most of the tribes who live in the Korwa country possess some knowledge of witchcraft and sorcery which they often practise against the Korwas. This has made the latter suspicious about the motive of the tribes with which they live and thus has taught them to shun their neighbours as far as practicable. Intermarriage with other tribes means importation of the magic of the latter into the Korwa village which would necessarily mean disaster and extinction of the Korwas. So great is this fear amongst the Korwas that there is

seldom a single case where intertribal marriage or sexual intimacy has been discovered. The present sad plight of the Korwas, the keen struggle for existence to which they have to submit, the failure to adapt themselves to the changing environment, the almost constant prevalence of diseases and epidemics which are sweeping away the members of the Korwa tribe, the gradual loss of vitality which is manifest in their daily life and conduct, are all to a great extent, if not wholly, ascribable to the malign influence of their neighbours who are constantly using their magic to annihilate and extirpate them from the secure asylum to which they are even now clinging. This feeling is gradually gaining ground with the increasing hopelessness of their future outlook and is strengthening and cementing the social solidarity of the group which is uncommonly reflected in their social conduct.

The sympathy born of disappointment, of a vague fear of the unknown, of the terrible consequence to which they are being driven to by the reaction of their unfavourable environment and lastly of the psychological tie that binds together the hapless and the doomed, is the most potent factor that has been responsible for their exclusiveness and isolation which again are adversely affecting their lease of life.

The constant fission of tribes into endogamous groups leads to inbreeding which is an important factor determining the destiny of the groups.

Exogamy, whatever its origin may be, is primarily an institution of nomadic or unsettled life. It derives its sanctity from the pride of military prowess or the thirst for conquest or expedition. Hunting tribes are mostly exogamous. The Naga khels are exogamous though they know full well the consequence of their marital raids. Exogamy is not only universal but also a fundamental factor of their social organisation. Exogamy has led to the widespread practice of female infanticide which has been suppressed to some extent by the pioneer efforts of Colonel McCulloch who by a judicious mixture of threats and persuasion managed to induce the mothers to spare their girls in future.

*Wherever the regime of violence has been superseded by a regime of law and order, there has developed more peaceful ways of getting brides, for in a peaceful society the value of women is recognised and they become a saleable commodity, the price of which is fixed in proportion to the utility they provide for the community. Thus exogamy tends to disappear with settled life. But exogamy appears again in endogamous groups divided into subgroups which forbid intermarriage between members of the same sub-group. But in the latter, the method of procuring a wife differs. While in a hunting community, marriage is by capture, in a peaceful society it is effected by mutual adjustment which does away with violence. Endogamy may also result from an idea of social precedence which amongst the higher caste people at least has been the primary cause of constant fission and subdivision of larger groups

into smaller endogamous groups with fictitious traditions of origin. Groups originally exogamous are transformed into endogamous ones either by change of custom or by migration. Isolation whether social or geographical also may lead to endogamy. Difference in customs, manners, traditions and in methods of food quest leads to the formation of endogamous groups. In addition to these, there is another factor which has been responsible for limiting the field of marital choice amongst the Korwas, viz, the vague fear of unseen powers that make their influences felt through intermediaries such as Baigas, Ojhas, Patharis and Bhagats who belong not to the Korwa tribe but to the different tribes in the neighbourhood such as the Cheros, the Majhwars, the Kharwars by whom the former are hedged in on all sides. The power of magic and witchcraft which the other tribes are believed to possess has driven the Korwas to a complete social isolation leading to a rigid endogamy which forced them to practise inbreeding in a manner detrimental to the best interests of the tribe. The effect of this unsuccessful sexual selection has been described in detail elsewhere. *As early as 1897, Dr. Crooke wrote in his monograph on the North Western Provinces of India that the Korwas possess no stable exogamous groups and practically no prohibited degrees in marriage and it has assumed such grave proportions now that the tribe seems to be preparing for an exit.

To an outsider an entire Korwa village represents a family where every villager reckons one of another and describes the prosperity or misfortune of the

other as if it were his own. To the revenue-collecting agent or the village *patwari*, one is seen to plead for the other in a way which leaves no room for doubt as to the common interest between the parties. Nowhere is seen such willingness on the part of a villager to help his co-villager as amongst the Korwas. When a particular villager is asked to perform a certain duty, the other villagers, at least those that happen to be on the spot, accompany the former as if it were their duty as well. When a particular villager has to stay out of his village for a day or two, which sometimes happens in case he is summoned to the headquarters of the Tehsil or when he has to attend any officer on duty in some neighbouring village, he does not spend any thought over his home or family even if he happens to be the only male member of the house, for he knows it full well that some of his co-villagers will take his cattle out in the morning when the latter goes to tend his own cattle, will offer his family a share of the fruits and roots which he may collect in the forest and will see that everything is done for the family which would have been done had the villager been present.

In a tribe which recognises no prohibited degrees in marriage the standard of sexual morality must necessarily be low, for the absence of any controlling taboo regarding sexual intimacy would encourage sexual license to the extreme. But very different is the case with the Korwas. There is no privileged familiarity between potential mates or joking relationship which may encourage the use of obscene language or romping with the potential mate trans-

ending the limits of decency. Not that mutual selection is absent amongst the Korwas; as a matter of fact most of the marriages are arranged by the parties concerned while the parents or the elders nod assent; but in all marriages which are arranged by the parents, the bridegroom as well as the bride have a significant hand in the consummation of the union and no marriage is possible without the consent of the contracting parties.

Run-away marriages are not infrequent but divorces are. This may be due to the social stigma placed on women who are divorced for the latter seldom get husbands. Korwa women are regarded as partners for weal or woe and are accorded equal treatment by the men. They are always consulted by their husbands and in the sphere of domestic life their voice must be heard. Children are well cared for and family life centres round the mother. The women are generally hardy and at times quite resourceful. Widow marriage is allowed and sometimes widows are preferred to maidens. In many cases the bride is older than the bridegroom and this disparity of age does in no way affect the mutual relationship between husband and wife. The utility of women is generally recognised and consequently they are better treated than they used to be before. The most important cause of divorce apparently is intrigue with a member of another caste which is to the Korwas the greatest offence imaginable and no compromise is possible or permissible by the tribal council.

But such intrigues when confined to the members of the tribe are not seriously taken and the council winks at any maltreatment accorded to the wife should any such act, secret or overt, be discovered by the husband or his people. Monogamy being the rule, the women are generally faithful to their husbands, but cases have been discovered in which a woman deserts her husband and permanently cohabits with some other member of the tribe even in her own village. But this does not mean that social ties are loose. The sanctity of domestic life is maintained by the woman whose conservative outlook forbids her to make any advance in her social or religious life. She refuses all experiments, shrugs her shoulders at all innovations, and the traditions and usages of the tribe are thus accepted as sacrosanct from which no deviation is possible.

The Korwas are a patrilineal as well as patrilocal people. Property is transmitted through the male, and the daughters are only entitled to maintenance. Marriage is generally confined to the village which is more or less an endogamous group. The bride has to be purchased and brideprice has been fixed by the tribal council. The bride price is paid in coins as well as in kind. Five to ten rupees seem to be the average rate plus about two maunds of rice. The latter is more essential than the former. The dowry generally offered is a piece of culturable plot of land where the couple can raise some crops just enough to maintain themselves if they so desire but the size of the plot is determined by the

amount of land at one's disposal, for in partitioning the holding due care is taken to see that the family after disposing of a share of the land to the couple does not fall short of land for its own maintenance. Even now the practice seems to be to offer a portion of the culturable waste lands within the boundary of the village which the headman or *sapurdar* of the village is entitled to settle with the villagers on payment of a nominal rent. Family property is held by the eldest male member of the family, generally by the father of the family, and the sons have to set up separate houses as soon as they marry. Daughters marry out, though not out of the village. The family land is jointly tilled and the produce of the field is distributed amongst the parents and the sons after a portion has been set aside for paying the rent and the interest on the family debt if there be any. The share of produce which falls to each family does not meet the entire demand of the family and so it has to be supplemented by fruits and roots from the forest.

III. FOLKCUSTOM AND FOLKLORE OF THE SYLHET DISTRICT IN INDIA.

BY PADMA NATH BHATTACHARJEE, BIDYA BINOD, M. A.

1. (a) The worship of *Khala Chandi* (also called Darai) even if performed by Brahmans requires the services of an eunuch of lower caste (called Gunna). The latter dances before the deity and performs worship of the deity separately on a pot.

(b) In the worship of Kāp or Kābya Durga *pūjā*, similarly, there is a twofold performance,—one, by the Brāhman priest, and the second, by the Kāpālīs—a lower class of people—who also sing and dance before the deity.

(c) The worship of the Nava Grahas or the Nine Planets is conducted by a lower class of priests called Daibajuas or Ganaks. In some cases the worship of Grahas is performed by high-caste Brahmans also, but the offerings are given away to Ganaks, as the acceptance thereof makes the Brāhman *patita* or fallen from his elevated position in the community. A *Sirni* (offering) to *pirs* or Mussulman saints is given through Mollas (*Mullahs*)—though the donor may be a Hindu.

2. The Sun is the giver of Health. On a Sunday, on the seventh day of the Moon, and on the last day of the month, worship of the Sun is performed. Often the *pūjā* is performed on the reflected image of the Sun in the water in a

miniature pond dug in the yard for the occasion. On Sundays in the Month of Magh, the worship of the Sun is performed with great pomp. At that time the devotees remain standing the whole day and enjoy neither meal nor protection from sunshine. In days of yore the devotees would take a lamp in hand, plunge themselves into water at sunrise, and standing in water naval deep, they would look towards the Sun, shifting the direction of their faces from east to west as the Sun would move in its diurnal course till it set down when the devotees would come out of the water to take their food. Only very lately the custom was to remain standing on land at a spot, looking towards the Sun with a lamp in hand. Now-a-days, however, the worshippers only abstain from sitting down and enjoying their meals and taking shelter in the house, and those who feel difficulty even in this much, observe fasting only. But even now the position of the wick-end of the lamp is shifted from east to south-east, south-south-west and west, according to the course of the Sun in Winter. The lamp is not now kept in the hands but is placed near the pond in the yard dug for the *pūja* proposes. Formerly both males and females would observe the solemn rite, but now-a-days the males seldom do it. The Sun is believed to have no teeth, hence his meal consists only of rice and milk. After sunset the females walk round the pond and sing songs till it is dark when they go and break their fast.

In almost every rite and every worship an *Arghya* to the Sun is a *sine qua non*. '*Arghya*'

is an offering of a mixture of grass, rice and water.

3. As the Sun moves from east to west *via* south, thus $W \swarrow \searrow E$, so the Hindus move
 $\quad \quad \quad S \swarrow$

round the temple of Vishnu or the Salagrām Stone (emblem of Vishnu) or Tulasi tree from East *via* South to West and from West *via* North

to East thus, $W \begin{smallmatrix} N \\ \odot \\ S \end{smallmatrix} E$. We know of no case in

which women after childbirth are exposed to the Sun. Nor is there any belief of conception through the rays of the Sun.

The Swastika emblem is used in some of the rites.

4. There is no legend or custom connected with the worship of the moon in Sylhet. Only on the night of the anniversary of Srikrishna's birth-day, (eighth day of the waning moon of the month of Srāvaṇa) an *Arghya* is offered to the moon.

Besides the stories that are given in the Purāṇas regarding the Moon's black spots, (which we need not recount) there is a popular belief among the Hindus that an old woman resides in the moon who is busy with her spindle and the dark spots are nothing but that creature. The thread-like substances that are wafted by the wind on a fine day in the autumn season generally, are called the "Old woman's threads". According to some Mussalmans, the dark spots are nothing but the rows of palm trees, and according to others the spots represent a woman threshing corn with a dog by her side.

There is no belief in the moon as a healer of diseases nor is there any custom in this part of the country of drinking lunar rays.

Generally speaking, the Vaishnavite ceremonies (such as Rās', Dōl, Jhulan) are performed in the Full Moon, while the Śakta ceremonies (such as Mahālayā, Kālī pūjā &c.) take place in the New Moon. Every new moon is taken by the orthodox Hindus as an auspicious occasion for Pārvana Śraddha—offering oblations to the manes of forefathers. But the above are what the Purāṇas and Tantras prescribe and do not come under the purview of 'folklore'.

There is a ceremony of offering cakes on the full moon day of the month of Māgh—called Agni-Pūrnimā. At night, *Pulis* or cakes with puddings in them, are interred in a hole dug in the yard and a twig from the jujube tree is planted thereon. The whole yard, or the part of it near the hole, is painted with *A'līpanas* (paintings in white liquid made of rice-powder).

5. The legend in connection with the eclipse is what is recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, which is the old story of Rāhu's swallowing the Sun and the Moon. Any religious act performed at the time of the eclipse brings to the doer a merit thousand fold as much as that earned by the same act at an ordinary moment. So the people give away to the poor and to Brāhmins gold, rice, Cows (esp. tawny Cows called Kapilā) or visit temples of deities, perform ablutions in the Ganges, or even in ordinary water, mutter Tantra-ic

mantras, chant Sankirtan hymns. People abstain from food from some time before the eclipse till it is over,—as to eat during eclipse would bring in Grihini or Dyspepsia. For seven days after the eclipse people do not stir out of their houses for a journey to any place. All these are injunctions of the *S'āstras*, hence no subjects of folklore, but there is one custom which may be such a subject: at the time of eclipse the house wife would stick an iron-bar into the earth, if there is a woman *enciente* in the family she is also to remain standing erect. This is done to prevent the embryo from being crooked or of abnormal shape, straightness of the iron bar and the erect posture of the woman are believed to keep the foetus straight. This practice is followed by Hindus as well as Mussalmans.

To Hindus as well as to Mussalmans, the eclipse is an inauspicious phenomenon: it forebodes calamities. The Mussalmans, too, recite their prayers at that moment.

6. There is no custom of star-worship. Only on the birth day anniversary, one worships the particular *nakshatra* or constellation under whose aspect a child was born. This is according to the *S'āstras*.

The Rainbow is believed to be the very bow which Rāmachandra broke on the occasion of his marriage (vide *Adikāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana*) and for this it is called *Rāmdhanu*. The following adage shows the popular belief as to its appearance.

पूर्वे धनु नित वरिष्ठ,
पश्चिमे धनु सागर सोष्ठ ।
&c. &c. &c.

(*Pūbē dhenu nit barishan*
Paschimē dhenu sṅār shoshan)

A bow in the East brings constant rains,

A bow in the West an ocean drains.

The Milky way is styled "Kapilārdara" or the way of the tawny cow. The Celestial Cow, Surabhi goes to graze by this route.

7. The Earth is one of the eight forms of Siva and, as such, receives worship daily when a Hindu worships Siva. Brahman, before eating their meals, give a portion of it to the Earth on the ground. It is prescribed in the S'āstras to ask forgiveness before planting the foot on the earth after getting up from the bed at day-break.

If a flower slips down to the ground, it is not generally used for worship : it is ominous if any idol falls to the ground. A lamp or a conch-shell also must not be placed on the ground.

When parents die, or a woman loses her husband, the children or the wife sleep on earth till the expiry of *asauch* (lit., uncleanness generated by death or birth, among near kinsfolk). Certain rites also require the votaries to sleep on the earth. Women in their menses sleep on the ground. Among the Mussalmans, the Shias sleep on the ground during the ten days of Muharram.

8. It is said that 49 Vāyus (winds) conspired to take birth together in the womb of Indra's mother Aditi. Indra feared the loss of the kingdom of Heaven, and so divided them into 49 pieces in the mother's womb. After the birth, whenever

the winds tried to unite together, Indra hurled his thunder. This constant warfare led the gods to think on the matter seriously and then arranged the matter thus : the winds were never to try to unite unless the heavens were cloudy, and, unless they actually united, Indra should not hurl his thunder. It is therefore that when at the time of foul weather the winds unite and put forth their lustre (which is lightning) Indra sends down his thunder and separates them.

Some say by thunder Indra drives away evil spirits and 'lightning' is the lustre of the thunder.

The story of the origin of thunder from the bones of the saint Dadhichi is told in the Mahābhārata.

The Mussalmans believe that by thunder the celestial messengers (called *feristas*) keep away the satellites of Satan from Heaven.

9. It is the common faith that a tortoise occupies the nethermost position underneath the Earth: on this is a serpent, and on the serpent is an Elephant. When any of the three creatures moves its limbs, the earth quakes.

After the big earthquake of June 1897, it has become the popular faith that the inhabitants of this planet have become sinful, so much so that even the motherly patient Earth can bear their iniquities no longer and so has been trying to shake them off her surface !

The ordinary Mussalman believes that the earth rests on the horns of a bull which has a mosquito at its side. Whenever the bull tries to shake

its head, the earth quakes, but the mosquito stings him by way of a warning not to shake the head, and so the bull keeps quiet. This Bull rests upon a fish, the fish lives in the water and the water is in Chaos.

To Hindus the earthquake forebodes evil. No Hindu would undertake a journey within 7 days after an earthquake. Even marriages and other ceremonies are postponed if an earthquake takes place shortly before the appointed date. But after June 1897, from which date the earthquake has become a very frequent and familiar phenomenon in this part of the country, it is not much cared for.

10. Rivers Belari near Bekiteka (Habigunj), Barak near Badarpur, Snān Ghāt in the Haor Ghungiyajuri, Panātīrtha in Laur and the spring called Brāmha Kuṇḍa near Mantala and Mādhav Cherra in Patharia, are regarded as sacred at specified times in the year, when people flock to them for bathing. The females throw oil and vermillion into the water and the males perform the worship of Ganga and throw into it live pigeons, goats, sheep or even buffaloes. Sometimes, the beast or the bird is thrown into the water after being sacrificed.

There is no superstition against saving a drowning person. Ceremonies performed at digging and dedicating of wells are what is prescribed in the Shāstras.

The water of a well is cool and is believed to cure delirium and dyspepsia.

There are no sacred lakes in this district. But, there are sacred or rather 'inspired' wells

and ponds, accounts of some of which are given below: In the town of Sylhet there is a well called A'kkelbarer Kūā; a potion of its water is believed by the Muhmmadans to give *akkel* or intellect.

In Ranga Parganā (North Sylhet), there is a tank called Sāt-pāri or 'seven-banked' owing to its heptagonal size. If anybody suffering from tertian fever bathes in it, he gets cured.

In the Pargana Gudharah opposite to the town of Sylhet, on the other side of the river Suma, there is an old pond called Jibli-pukur. Both Hindus and Mussalmans offer *sirni* on its bank, and Hindus even sacrifice animals there. Barren women drink water out of it to get children.

One Gaurkisor Sen of Ita became a Mussalman and was called Sādak Ali: he wrote a book called *Raddekufur* in which he held up to ridicule the foibles and superstitions of both the Hindus and Mussalmans. About Jibli-tank his lines are—

श्रीहट्टर दक्षिणे तालाव मुर्मा नदीर पार ।

जिबली घाटेर पानी खाईले बेटा होइव तार ॥

Srihaṭṭer dakshinē tālāo Surmā nadīr pār;

Jibli ghāṭer pāni khāile beṭā hoibā tār.

South of Sylhet on Surma's bank there is Jibli Tank; That would give a child to him who its water drank.

According to the Mussalmans, Khaja Khijir is the Lord of water, where he resides invisible. It is only the pious devotees who can secure his favour. Hindus believe that water-gods reside below large tanks. It is said that in the good old times, when anybody had to perform some big ceremony,

he would get vessels, dishes etc. out of the tank; he had only to throw some betel-leaves into the tank, by way of invocation, on the night before the ceremony and on the next morning there would be a heap of vessels etc. on the tank. After the ceremony was over, the utensils were returned with due reverence. It so happened at last, that a maid-servant concealed a vessel, and the water-deity refused to accept any back. When the burglar went to the tank an iron-chain held her fast at the feet, and when people tried to get the chain ashore, they found it of immeasurable length. Then the master of the house dreamed that a vessel was wanting because of the burglary of the maid-servant; the vessel was found out and all were then returned. Another version is that the maid-servant was offered as a sacrifice; some say that all of the house went down beneath the tank and rose no more. At any rate, the custom of the gift of vessels to the tank-deity ceased from that incident and this story is told of almost all big tanks.

11. There is no sacred mountain in this district. Dewān-sil in the Laur Hills and the Siddheswar's Tila near Badarpur are held in reverence: but both of them belong to other districts, viz. Khasi Hills and Cāchār respectively.

Common people who go to the hills for collecting forest produce give *Sirnī* (offerings) to *pirs*, or offer sacrifices to the spirit of the Woods and hills. So they can be said to have a religious dread in climbing hills.

According to Mussalmans, Khāja Iliās alias

Syed Jahan *alias* Mir Arpin is the lord of mountains. Through his mercy, people escape from the influence of genii infesting the hills. There is a *Dargā* (shrine) of this *pir* in the Dhalāipar hills. People ascending the hills give *Sirni* there. He is generally invisible: but if some processes are performed, he may be visible: these processes are known only to pious devotees.

On the banks of the Khowāi River, there is a *dargā* of Shah Gazi in the Assampārā hills near Vis-gāon (Habigunj). This Gāzi rides on a tiger. People going to the hills, give *Sirni* there and this gives them safety against tigers and genii.

12. Indra is the presiding deity over the cloud and rains. In times of drought people worship Indra.

There is a class of village sorceress called "Phirāls" (lit. Turners), also called Hirāls. By *mantras* and medicines they are believed to be able to stop or avert storm and hails, and they are so called (*phirāls* or turners) because they can turn away storms and hails. They are appointed by cultivators to protect the *bora* crop, mustard or sesamum from hail storm, and are remunerated either in cash or in kind. If however the harvest is damaged, the people do not pay the *phiral*, or pay him less. If it hails copiously in the village and not in the field, the inference is to the credit of the 'phirāl' who is supposed to have turned the course of the hail from the field. If the reverse of the above takes place, people infer that the *phirāl* of the neighbouring village has directed the course of

the hail-storm to their fields,—or take the calamity to be the result of the wrath of their own *phirāl* if he was paid less in the previous year. The *Phirāls* bury various medicines underneath the ground both in people's houses and in their fields: this process is called "Gut-gāra".

Women perform the following rites to invoke rains:—

(a) They set a sisterless spinster to get a quantity of salt by begging from three (for $2\frac{1}{2}$) houses, have it buried in one breath underground where eaves-drops fall.

(b) A boy is asked to get the nest of a crow or of a *phechkona* bird and bury it in one breath underneath water.

(c) Two frogs are caught: one is supposed to be male and the other a female: their mock-marriage is then celebrated by moving the female frog round the male one seven times: the women sing, dance and cry *u lu lu* at that time.

(d) They make circular holes in the ground with their heels. The throwing of the Sivalinga or Sālagrām stone into water is also supposed to draw down rains. With the same object, people sometimes throw papers or leaves into water after writing on it the name of the Goddess "Durga" several times. Muhammadan boys and girls beg rice and pice from people and therewith give *Sirni* to *pir* (? Khaja Khijir) for getting rains.

On the abatement of a hail storm, it is the custom to read aloud a prayer of the goddess Durga from *Chandī*. People also take the names of Bhimasena and Hanuman, (both sons of the Wind-god Vāyu) during storm.

Hindus as well as Mussalmans bury leeches below the ground if the rains be incessant. This leads to the cessation of rains. The Mussalmans also make a figure of a man (*Musaffir*, a guest, as they say) with rags, and besmears the figure with oil : then placing a load of rice etc. on it they burn the same at the time of rains for its cessation.

13. The following *bratas* or ceremonies are performed by women :—

Mangal Chaṇḍi, Sankatā, Panchamī, Latita Saptamī, Durvāsaṭmī, Amābasya, Tapā, Ananta, Savitrī, Shashṭhi, Kshetrapāl, Phulka, Kulkar, Bhalaikar and many others.

A woman cannot perform *Jaynas* and the worship of Vishnu, Durga, &c.

There is a ceremony performed by Mahammadan women only : it is called “nāktam”. By this they ascertain when one would be married. They gather together at night and sing songs. They take a bud in the name of the man whose marriage time is to be ascertained. They put this bud into a hollow cake, and make an offering of this cake to God. After a certain period they open out the bud from the cake and if they find it flower, they infer that the time of marriage of the person is not very far off.

14. If a *Sālagram* stone called *Dadhibāmtra Chakra*, be immersed in water, there must be rains. But a real stone of that kind is not very common.

15. The falling of meteors is looked upon as portending some evil. Any auspicious ceremony is postponed if a meteor is seen falling previous to the occasion.

CHAPTER II.

16. Hanuman is respected and called Mahavir (great hero): *ladḍu* (a sort of sweet meats) is a favourite with him and so this is given in his worship — which is very rarely performed in this district. A flag (*Dhwaja*) is hoisted in his name near the extremity of a village. This will prevent epidemics and genii from attacking the place.

Bhimasena is not worshipped.

Nor is Bhishma worshipped. But on the 8th day of the waning moon of the month of Magh, libation of water is offered to Bhishma: indeed this is done according to *S'āstras* throughout India.

17. There is scarcely a village inhabited by the middle classes that has not a presiding deity of its own; some of the very famous deities are :—

(a) *Kālī of Kasbā Baniyachang*.—The deity is a big circular stone. A Hindu Raja of Baniyachang named Kesara Misra is said to have come to the place in a boat. He saw a *chur* where he alighted with his stone-deity for worshipping her. When finished, he tried to get her into the boat but could not. He dreamt at night that the place would be a populous village and that she would not leave the place. Soon the *Chur* extended rapidly and the present town of Baniyachang was

built. This goddess has now an image and a *pucca* building for residence.

(b) *Kālī of Sughar*.—One Gangāgovinda Majumdar went on business to Murshidabad in Nabab Alivardi's time. There a Sanyasi owned this deity; the deity is said to have appeared in a dream and asked him to deliver her to Gangāgovinda in whose house she desired to live. This goddess is daily worshipped by priests of Gangāgovinda's family.

(c) *Jungeswara Mahādeva and Kālī of Datta pāṛā*.—Both are said to have been excavated out of a tank. They are of great fame and are daily worshipped by preists of Dattagrām.

(d) *Bāsudeva of Pancha Khaṇḍa*.—The image is a beautiful one and was, it is said, found in a boat with that of another deity during reclamation of a tank. The discoverer dreamt that the image of Basudeva was to be given to a Brāhman of Parāsara Gotra of Supātala to be worshipped by him and that of the other deity was to be given to the King of Jaintia. Basudeva is since then worshipped regularly by the descendants of that Brāhman.

(e) *Bāsudeva of Jagannathpur*.—The image is exactly similar to that of its the namesake in Pancha-khaṇḍa and it was miraculously found. It is also worshipped daily by Brāhmans but very poorly.

(f) *Nirmai Mahadev of Balisin*.—The *linga* is reputed to be of great power. People with a malady keep hair uncut in this deity's name and come here to shave themselves clean. The deity has hereditary priests as worshippers.

(g) *Kali of Phaljur Jaintia*.—This one of the 51 *piṭhs* described in the Purāṇas.—The left leg of Sati the consort of Siva fell here. People from all parts of India (*esp.* Sannyasis) come here, though very rarely as the locality is accessible with difficulty. There are hereditary priests to worship the deity daily. The second *Piṭh* in Sylhet cannot be traced now.

(h) *Rupnāth Mahādev near Jaintrapur*.—A *linga* of high antiquity and of great fame. There is a fair held here at Siva-rātri time (in March generally). A priest goes from Jaintrapur town every Monday for worshipping the deity. A visitor must either take his own priest or give notice to this one if he goes on any other week-day. This is owing to the locality being in the hills about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jaintrapur town where only Khāsis dwell. The place is within the Jaintia Hills District.

(i) *Sidhheswar Mahādev—near Badarpur*.—The place is known to be Kapilā'sraṇa or an abode of the sage *Kapila* (author of the S'āṅkhya philosophy). There are always to be seen at this place Sannyasis by whom the worship is performed. A fair is held in his honour every year at the Bārūni time (in April generally). This place is now in the district of Cāchar.

(j) *Mahāprabhu of Dhākādakshin*.—The great prophet of Nadiya—Chaitanya—was the son of a Brāhman of this place who resided at Navadwipa afterwards. It is said that Chaitanya once came here to see his grandmother who

expressed her wish to see him always, whereupon, miraculously he gave an wooden statue of himself, immediately for her consolation. This statue is worshipped by the agnates of his father, regularly. There are fairs held on Sundays in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April); even people from distant parts of the country come to visit the place.

(k) *Ram Krishna of Bithangal*.—Ram Krishna, like Chaitanya, is a deified hero. He was a Sudra (Das) by birth—but was very pious and acquired great spiritual powers. He had a good many disciples in consequence. The Akhra (or shrine) at Bithangal contains his relics to which daily worship is performed by Bairagis. This saint is very popular with the common people of the locality and his fame has extended even to distant places. People flock in numbers with presents to this shrine which is one of the richest in East Bengal.

(l) *Jaganmohan of Machhulya*.—He was Ram Krishna's spiritual guide, now deified..

(m) *Savānanda of Siva tila*.

(n) *Mahā-Lakshmi of Jainpur* and the *Bhairava* and *Bhairavi of Grivā* (neck) *pitha*—Sati's neck fell here.

18. It is not the invariable practice here to select and instal a deity along with the starting of a new settlement or village: but villages have their local deities established in the following manner:—

(a) If the landlord be a *Sakta*, he will erect a temple of *Kali*, if a *Vaishnava* a shrine of *Vishnu* so on.

(b) If the majority of the villagers be Vaishnavas they would establish an *Akṣṛā* (shrine) with images of Rādhā and Krishna, or of Mahāsambhu.

(c) If the locality be infested by snakes the local deity would be Manasā—the mother of Snakes.

(d) Often if the villagers be all Mussalmans, a *Pir's Dargā* (shrine) is started.

The installation of the Hindu deities is made by a united worship in a grand scale by all the villagers. The worship is performed in the manner prescribed in the S'āstras. If the god be Vishnu's incarnation, a feast with chanting of songs—known as *mahotsab* takes place in addition. The deity is supported either by the landlord or by voluntary contributions by the villagers.

A Mussalman *pir* does not require daily worship. His installation consists only in a big *Sirni* by the local Mussalmans.

19. Lakshmi is decidedly the goddess of crops, but as nowhere she has any permanent shrine she cannot be called a "local deity". On the sowing and on the reaping days, her worship is performed. Only a *naibēdya* (offering consisting of rice, plaintains and molasses) suffices for her but the females paint from the door to the place of the middle-post (called *madhyam-pālā*) of the main house with a solution of water and powdered rice. No particular deity is regarded in the district as the preserver of cattle. The deities mentioned in para 17 *ante*, are almost without exception presented with a potful of milk as

a proper offering. If a cow is supposed to be barren or its calves die soon after birth, it is the custom with the people, *esp.* of the Halsganj quarter to promise a calf of the same cow to the Ram Krishna shrine at Bithangal, and the vow is never broken.

Common Mussalmans as also Hindus have a belief that unless they offer *Sirni* to the *Pir* their cattle will die; so they offer *Sirni* of milk, rice, sugar, plaintain *etc.* to the nameless *pir*. Mussalman orthodoxy however disfavours this idea and the poet Sadak Ali wrote,—

पिरर सिरनी ना करिले गरु बाहुर मरे ।

कोन पिर कार बेठा केठा चिने तारे ॥

Pirer sirni nā karile garu bāchhur marē

Kon pir kar beṭā keṭā chinē tāre.

Give no *sirni* to Pir, then see your cattle die,

But know ye who he is, what parentage high.

20. Bhairab is worshipped occasionally, *i. e.* when to avert some evil *esp.* from the spirits, a person takes a vow for his worship. The worship is conducted in the manner prescribed in the *Sāstras*. Ganesa is worshipped on every occasion of a *pūjā*; it is strictly enjoined to offer him *pūjā* first and then to perform any other religious rites. In that case he gets only rice, water, tender grass (*Durbā*) and nothing more. He is not known to be separately worshipped. *Matris* or the Mothers (altogether 16) are worshipped generally on the occasion of celebrating conjugal ceremonies, *e. g.* *Abhyudāyika srāddha* (before a marriage and a second marriage), *simantonmayana* *etc.*).

the *simantonayana* ceremony is performed in the manner prescribed in the S'āstras, for the protection of the foetus in the sixth or the eighth month from the date of conception. The females generally take a vow to worship Rupeswarī *alias* Rupasī if the child lives after a safe delivery. Rupeswarī is also called "Bana Dūrgā" or Dūrgā of the jungle, as her worship is performed in or near by a wood. No other sylvan deity is known.

CHAPTER III.

21. Rakshā Kālī and Smaśān Kālī are worshipped on the occasion of an outbreak of Cholera. Rakshā Kālī's form differs from that of the Kālī *par excellence*, in that the former's complexion is white and heads three and hands six. Smaśān Kālī is so called perhaps because after worship the statue is placed on the cremation ground. Sitalā is worshiped on the occasion of a small-pox epidemic. The above worships are conducted by the whole villagers in the manner prescribed in the Tantras. Even the Mussalmans sometimes join in them. In Cholera times the villagers also perform the Hari Sankirtan almost every night.

No particular worship is made at the time of a fever epidemic but in any case of hopelessness of recovery the people of the patient take a vow of the worship of Kālī or Dūrgā or Vishnu or Bana-Dūrgā (Rupeswarī) or any other deity at their choice; females also perform a Brata called Jarā-Jari on such occasions.

On the occasion of an outbreak of Cholera, Mussalmans, who believe that such visitations

are due to God's anger on account of the iniquities of mankind to which the genii infesting the village also join, procure a good cow or goat or pony, garland it with flowers, and tying round its neck a new cloth to which 5 pice and 5 knotfuls of rice are fastened, make it walk round the village and drive it away at dead of night: all evils are belived to go away with it.

22. Epidemics themselves are looked upon as evil spirits, and to drive them away religious performances mentioned in the last paragraph are performed. In order to prevent them from entering the village, earthen cups with symbolic *mantras* (incantations), and in the case of Mussalmans with verses from the Koran written on them are placed on bamboo posts at the corners of the village. The people are enjoined to observe cleanliness, physical as well as, if possible, spiritual. Persons wear charmed amulets, or some kinds of article made of eight metals, or wear rings made of diamond, emerald or other precious stones. During epidemics, people never go alone to the woods or fields.

In cases of cattle disease, the Hindus worship Ghōrchandī and both the Hindus and Mussalmans give Sirni to Pīrs.

23. It is the custom to drive away trifling diseases, such as headache, stomach-ache &c. by charmed water, salt, ginger &c. Threads yellow or blue, called Kāmā, and white mustard, are necessary in some cases of exorcism of diseases. On *bhurja* leaves are written *mantras* and, then

the leaf is folded and wound fast with the ropes (called *Kāchh*) made of the blue or the yellow thread, and worn on the person in an amulet. The village sorcerer cures hysteria by throwing a handful of white mustard on the person of the diseased, with muttering of *mantras*.

To cure tertian fever, the diseased is required to carry on the head a load of unclean and trifling things such as a broken winnow (*kulā*), tattered wooden or leather shoes, skull of a dead cattle, etc., and throw them on at the tri-junction of paths. The disease is believed to be transferred to any one who treads on these trivial articles.

The Mussalman also believes in the exorcism of diseases by supernatural means. The following are some of those methods: rubbing the body with *apāts* (verses) from the Koran, wearing of charmed amulets, drinking of water obtained by washing a plaintain leaf or an utensil on which some charm has been written, besmearing the body with the dust of the threshold charmed, cutting slightly the seat of the disease in the body with a charmed knife, intimidating as it were the disease by uttering charms with the root of a certain plant in hand, etc.

In this connection, there is a curious practice among the Mahammadans, called "Nis'adekhā" (vision at mid-night). In order to know whether or not, and by what means a diseased person would be cured, a man carries in a vessel some

food at midnight, places it on the tri-junction of roads, retires from the spot and listens attentively if any thing is heard. The sound then heard gives the required information. The custom of Hajerāt (or invitation of spirits) by *mullahs* may also be mentioned: by this they know how, i. e. by what offerings etc, the diseases of a person would leave him.

24. No instance of religious dance is known.

25. The village *ojhās* are generally men of low caste, yet they are held in regard by villagers because of their powers. Their services are sought whenever a person is bitten by a snake or attacked by a spirit, or smitten with a malady of doubtful diagnosis. Their method of treatment consists of uttering *mantras* (or verses from the Koran if they are Mussal-mans), rubbing the body of the diseased, giving charmed amulets etc. Their pharmacopœia contains no list of costly materials but only of things like white mustard, blue and yellow thread, roots, common plants etc. They do not generally accept any remuneration for their labour and those who do, are satisfied with any thing (say a piece of cloth) given them. It is binding on the *ojhās* to come at once to the house of the patient whenever called for.

26. Offering is made of coins etc. (but not of rags) to sacred trees, wells, tanks, rivers etc., such as the Seorā tree at Deorgachh in the

Habiganj subdivision which receives such offerings, the well at the Shah Jelal's temple in the Sylhet town and that at Maejhsasān in Pargana Barāpārā in Karimganj.

27. Any method of transferring a disease from one person to another is not known; but in this connection the treatment of tertian fever, as given in *para* 23 *ante* may be perused.

28. It is the custom in some places to let loose the goat offered to Rupeswari (or Bana-Dūrgā) after rending its ear with a nail-cutter, insted of sacrificing it with a sword.

CHAPTER IV.

29. The Hindus show respect to their ancestors by offering libations of water in their names, by performing their Srāddha ceremony on the anniversary day of their death, besides immediately after their death, by performing Srāddha ceremony on auspicious occasions, e. g. marriage, child-birth and on a visit to Gayā. These are done in obedience to the injunctions of the S'astras.

The Mahammadans would give Sirni (offering) in the name of God and feed Fakirs and poor people, and the merit that would arise out of the act they transfer to the manes of their forefathers. Similarly they also employ Mullāhs to read Koran Shariff and allow the merit thereof to be credited to the forefathers. They also employ Mullāhs to pray to God at the site of their ancestors' interment and feed Fakirs, poor people and the Mullahs for benefit of their ancestors.

The Hindus believe the spirit (*ātmā*) to be immortal—though the form assumed by the dead immediately after the demise is no doubt as frail as the human form. The re-birth of the spirit depends on the *Karma* (works) done in the past life and it may or may not occur in the shape of a child to the family that belonged to the spirit in its past birth.

The Muhammadans do not believe in the immortality of the *spirit* after death and in its rebirth in any shape.

30. No tomb can be referred to in this district as working miracles.

The Hindu deified saints of the district are mentioned in para 17, (j) (k) and (l). *ante*.

The Mussalman saints are Shah Jelal—who has a temple in his name in the Sylhet town, where he lies buried, Abu Taraf, Shah Faran, Shah Daud, Shah Gazi, Fate Gazi, Shah Chot (?) Mir Arpin, Shija, Kutu nul Aulia, Shah Kutub Sayid Tajuddin, Khaja-khijir.

31. The Hindus also show respect to great many of the Mussalman saints mentioned above and offer *sirni* to them Hasil pir, Zin lakh pir, Nay lakh pir, Sayid Jahan, Rānel pir, &c. also are respected by Hindus, and given *sirni* by them.

32. In order to cure barrenness, women undergo various sorts of magical processes: they use amulets, drink charmed water, bathe seated on a (dead) tiger or placed under an elephant etc.

CHAPTER V.

33. Dreams are generally believed to be the results of deep thought or a disturbed state of mind in the day time: and some people believe them also to be caused by spirits. People, both Hindus and Mussalmans, believe in the good and bad results of their dreams and think that "dreams of go by contraries" —i. e. if any one dreams good things, evil is sure to be in store for him and *vice versa*, but, according to some authorities, this holds good only if the time of the occurrence of the dreams be the first half of the night; and if the dreams occur by the last half, the results are of the same quality as of the dreams, viz: good comes, out of good and bad out of bad dreams.

34. No recent occurrence of the soul leaving the body can be cited in support of the Hindu belief in this matter: but *Yogis* of yore—nay even the *Yogi* at Ranjit Singh's court some 50 years ago—could leave the body in the insensible state and assume life at option.

The Mussalmans do not believe in any form of transmigration of the soul.

35. It is stated in the *S'astras*, that the soul of a man immediately after his death becomes air-like and remains hung up in the atmosphere. If the heirs and successors of the dead do not perform the *Sradh* ceremony and thus pave the way of its attaining Heaven, the spirit of the dead does mischief to them. But, at any rate,

the soul is to remain in this state of vagrancy till the first anniversary of the death. After this it is to enjoy in heaven or to suffer in hells, according as the person to which it last belonged did meritorious or vicious acts. The decision rests with *Yama* (=Pluto) with whom lies the record of deeds of all the creatures. The way to hell is led by the terrible servants of *Yama* as that to heaven is led by the charioteers of the deity whom the departed person worshipped while on earth. There are various sorts of torments in store for the sinful in hell, light or heavy, according to the quality and quantity of the vice, and similarly the pious enjoy as much as is due to them on account of their merits. After the term of the suffering or enjoyment is over the soul is to return to the earth again to take birth, the nature of which is also determined by the acts of the former life. Only those pious persons who obtained *Brahmajñān* (knowledge of the Infinite) or died at Benares or had their *pinḍa* given at Vishnu's feet at Gayā, never return:—they are dissolved into the Infinity. (These are the popular beliefs which do not differ anyway from the Purānic stories.) As to Mahammadans also, the popular belief tallies with their sacred books. The souls of the pious reside in Allah and those of the sinful in Sijjīn. These two places lie between the earth and the other worlds—heaven and hell. The pious souls enjoy the expectation of the infinite pleasures that await them after Doomsday, and the sinful ones are troubled with the gloomy thought of being

put to infinite terrors after that day. On the Doomsday, God in His infinite mercy allots infinite joys to the pious and in His equally infinite wrath consigns the sinful to eternal damnation. There is no re-birth provided in the Muhammadan faith.

35. The Hindus believe that the atmosphere is full of spirits—most of which are malevolent. People look for protection from them to the favour of the deity they worship. It is therefore that some sort of deity there is in every village. The chief function of the *bhut* therefore is to undo the favourable works of the local deities. There are stories heard though,—not much now-a-days, of the contest between the local deity and the *bhut* trying to get possession of a locality, and for the same purpose one *bhut* is believed to fall in with another and in the latter case, as in human warfare, different sorts of *bhuts* come and take sides with either of the contending parties. But malevolent though they generally are, the *bhuts* can be propitiated by various sorts of offerings at the place which they are supposed to haunt. These offerings are called *dāli*, and whether or not a *dāli* is accepted can be divined by auguries, e. g., the breaking of a twig, some unaccounted-for noise, &c. Like Hindu deities, the *bhuts* are subjected to *mantras*; and in the Tantra there are instructions how *bhuts* can be tamed, and made serviceable to man. One who can attain such power can heal others affected with evil spirits and can also do mischief to his enemies through these imaginary agencies.

Bhuts are seen in various shapes at places believed to be haunted by them. They attack persons who might, unwittingly even, commit any sort of nuisance at or close by the haunted places or come under their ken in a careless or impure state. A peom when attacked by a *bhut* becomes either ecstatic or suffer from high fever attended with delirium. People then take recourse to the village sorcerer (*ojha*) for treatment and he in his usual way attends the affected till he is cured.

The Muhammadans also believe in the existence and malevolence of *bhuts* and invoke divine assistance to get rid of the baneful influence of the *bhuts*. They think the *bhut* to be invisible.

36. People who die a violent death (called *Apamrityu*) or a sudden death, are not looked upon as fortunate, and the extraordinary manner of their death indicates sin in this or past life. Suicides are accursed and are believed to go to the worst parts of the hell. Those who die violent or sudden deaths are believed mostly to turn ghosts. There are people however who think that deaths by lightning and by snake-bite lead persons to heaven. The sin of a homicide who is punished with hanging is believed to be greatly alleviated. Mussalmans make no difference between natural death and violent or sudden death.

37. The *bhuts* enter and leave a body quite imperceptibly: but the illness of the person and his extraordinary behaviour indicate the possession

of him by a *bhut* : and when, under the charms of a sorcerer or by any other means the *bhut* is compelled to leave the body, it leaves a sign at the bidding of the sorcerer—such as the breaking of a bough of a tree.

At nightfall and at day-break, at midday or at midnight the *bhuts* are believed to be in motion. Children and females are not allowed to go out alone in any place at those moments. (See also *para 34 ante.*)

The following is the process how persons possessed by *bhuts* are treated by Mussalmans. A circle is described round the affected person with a stick, charms being recited at the same time ; a verse from the Koran is read over a quantity of mustard oil, and a wick smeared with the oil thus charmed is burnt and the smoke out of it is thrust into the nostrils of the affected person. To the *bhut* this is unbearable and so it speaks through the possessed. The sorcerer (*Ojbā*) then asks the *bhut* his name and whereabouts and how he came to have possession of the person, and he gives replies. The sorcerer then makes the *bhut* promise in the name of Suleman Badshah, the sovereign of *bhuts*, that it would never more enter the body and then, when he is satisfied, he cuts the magic circle and the *bhut* goes away. Some substitute Multan *hing* (*Asafoetida*) for mustard oil for besmearing the wick.

38. Among the Hindus as well as Muham-madans a belief prevails that at every time of sneezing or yawning the soul might go out and so

a person may die. The Hindus therefore say "*Jiba-tistha*" (Live and stay) when anyone sneezes and gives three raps with the thumb and mid-finger when one yawns, as if it to resuscitate the languishing spirit. The Muhammadans also thank Allah by saying "*Al haindu lillah*" (thanks to the Almighty) when one sneezes and "*La hāola ola kaola illah billahe*" (to survive sinful life and do good—may only be possible for man through the grace of god), when one yawns.

39. In days of yore Rākshasas were visible to the human eye; but now-a-days they are never met with; their existence, however, is believed in, and at the beginning of every religious performance, a Brāhman would scatter some rice on all sides to drive away all sorts of imaginary spirits including Rākshasas—who are supposed to prove harmful to all good things. Muhammadans also reckon Rākshasas among the genii. They believe these spirits seek to entice every person and eat him. Rākshasas also eat dead bodies and haunt burial grounds for this purpose. It is only through God's grace that the angels of Heaven guard the faithful from the clutches of these genii, and whenever these guards are away from a person on account of his impurity or sinfulness or for other reasons, these evil spirits decoy him to ruin.

49. There are innumerable species of imaginary spirits named in the *Tantras*. Those that are commonly heard of in Sylhet are the following besides *bhuts* or spirits *par excellence* :—

Prets:—the departed souls, so styled till the first anniversary of the death,—haunt about their

near relatives and feed on the oblations made to them by their progeny or near relatives.

Brahmadasyus—are the *prēts* of Brāhmaṇs who were heirless and sinful on earth. They hanker after a *piṇḍa* (oblation) in their name at Gayā, and for this reason would possess a rich man and realize what they want before leaving him. They haunt big trees. They can be propitiated by man and made serviceable to him. He has to utter certain *mantras* and the *Dasyu* comes. *Pisāchas* generally haunt burial grounds and other unclean places.

Yakshas.—These spirits guard buried treasures. If any one can propitiate them he is rewarded with riches.

Jins (among Mussalmans)—a class of imaginary spirits that try to do mischief to people.

41. A spirit without a head is called a *Kabandha*. Any one who happens to see such a spirit dies.

42. Pretas and *Pisāchas* haunt cremation grounds. The Muhammadans believe in *Rakshasas* having a *gusto* for human carcasses that haunt burial grounds.

43. All classes of evil spirits infest mountains, jungles and trees. *Brahmadasyus* live only in trees.

44. All sorts of *bhuts* may attack a newborn child and its mother. But *Ṭakrā Ṭakri* also called *Lalāsā-Bis'weswara* are the pair of deities that possess most commonly a newborn baby. They are worshipped according to the *Tantras*

i. e. rites accompanied with animal sacrifices and other offerings. But they are not "fiends" but deities.

45. The spirit that attacks Mussalman babes is called *Takrideo*, apparently an adaptation of the Hindu belief.

46. A death caused by a tiger or other wild beast is also called *Apamrityu* for which see *para* 36 *ante*.

47. Those women who die at child-birth or during menses, are not looked upon as fortunate in death, and the special circumstances at their death indicate sin in some previous life. But no special form is known to be adopted by the soul of a woman dying at such times.

The Mussalmans have no faith in this matter.

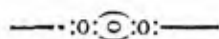
48. No precautions are known to be taken by any father at the birth of the child. Only if on astrological calculation it be found that the child has *Pitri-Risti* (boding evil for the father), then only the father performs ceremonies known as *Swastyayana* (welfare) or *Sānti* (peace). The birth of a son immediately after three daughters is looked upon as boding evil to his father. The father then feigns as if he has been turned out of his house and is subjected to contemptuous treatment (also feigned) from his neighbours. This is called *Dengurā* and is taken recourse to in order to avert the supposed evil.

49. No belief is entertained in this part of the country as to any connections of the bat or owl with the spirit of the dead. Indeed the

hovering about of a bat over a tree at dead of night and the monosyllabic ominous hooting of the owl at the same hour of the night are sure to create a scare in the mind of the ignorant and superstitious.

50. If the ruins of a house or a cave or a mine be deserted by human beings they are believed to be haunted by spirits. A treasure-house also undergoes the same fate if deserted. Such ruins and treasure-houses are haunted by Yakshas. People are afraid of going to such places.

(To be continued.)



IV. THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.

BY D. N. MAJUMDER, M. A., P. R. S.

When a savage obeys a custom or taboo, for example, when he raises a funerary monument over his dead relation or inters the bones in the family burial ground on the annual bone-burying day or observes certain customs during marriage, or dreads to violate the tabus of incest, his action admits of interpretation in more than one way. Some authorities hold that he has a deep reverence for tradition and custom and he automatically submits to their biddings. His compliance is slavish, unwitting and spontaneous. There is an intuitive method of regulating social conduct in savage society which does not disturb the social harmony and equipoise. The alleged instinctive adaptability of the savage has been greatly over-estimated by competent anthropologists and their verdict of instinctive submission to custom in savage society has been seriously challenged by Prof. Mallinowski whose researches amongst the Melanesians of the Trobriand Island have brought to light many significant mental traits hitherto undeciphered. ¹

Social harmony requires willing and spontaneous obedience to custom and this is only possible when the element of coercion or constraint is absent or subordinated to other obvious social or moral laws. Reciprocity of conduct is a

¹ Mallinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*.

social or moral law which regulates the social behaviour of the savage to a great extent. Prof. Mallinowski has shown that reciprocity in custom is made binding by being made part and parcel of a whole system of mutualities, and, in all the manifold activities of economic order the social behaviour of the savage is based on a well-assessed give-and-take policy. Religious activities also, according to him, display a link in the life-long chain of reciprocities.² The religious life of primitive man in India also supports the contention of Prof. Mallinowski, for the savage is actuated by a desire of some material gain which invariably results from a propitiatioin of higher powers. When he offers some sacrifice to a power, he believes that this power, when propitiated, will bestow on him certain favour which will take the shape of some earthly gift, material or mental. The reciprocity of conduct carries with it a system of privileges and obligations, law and order and is suggested by a consideration of an economic utility in conduct.

The savage therefore follows a certain custom because he has recognised its practical utility by experience or reason. The Mūṇḍās of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Plateau, the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, and the Badagas all observe double funeral. The first funeral takes place at death, the other after a long interval,—after one year or more. The second funeral is more important than the first and the funerals for all deaths in the village take place on one day. The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills

² *Mallinowski, Crime and Custom in Savage Society.*

have two ceremonies, one is called Etvainolkedr which is performed immediately after death, the other is known as Marvainolkedr. The final scene in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried takes place before day-break on the morning following the Marvainolkedr and is known as the Azaramkedr, the name being derived from the *azaram* or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place. ³ The Badagas also have two separate ceremonies, the first is called Hasekedu by them and is commonly known as the green funeral. ⁴ The second ceremony which comes after an interval is termed Barakedu and is described as the dry funeral. The second ceremony of the Todas may be held a month after the Etrainolkedr or after one full year or more. Dr. Rivers says that the Todas have no annual ceremony of the dead but from all accounts it seems that the ceremony depends on the economic condition of the family. After each death amongst the Orāons, the corpse is burnt and the bones are collected to be ceremonially interred on the annual bone-burying day (Ēārbōrā day). ⁵ The Mūṇḍās and the Hōs of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Plateau also observe this custom but they call it Jāngtōpā and the day when the bones of the Mūṇḍās who died during the whole year are interred is known as the Jāngtōpā day.

This second funeral is to all intents and purposes more important than the first and the funeral

³ Dr. Rivers,—*The Todas*.

⁴ Thurston,—*The Tribes and Castes of South India*.

⁵ Roy, S. C.,—*The Oraons*.

of all deaths in the community takes place on one day. The day is generally fixed by the council of elders of the village always after the harvesting season when their granaries are full and they are free from outside economic pursuits. If the funeral of every dead person were to be performed immediately after death, the people might suffer from economic stress, so the annual burial or the second burial is recognised as of great help to the primitive people who can well afford to spend freely after the harvesting season. This practical utility in all probability has suggested the double funeral amongst the Mūṇḍā-Dravidian people in India.

It is true that religious awe is inspired by the violation of customary laws in savage society, which affects the social solidarity of the group, and the spontaneous submission to custom results from the religious dread associated with this social behaviour. But the idea of religious dread has been of later growth and may be compared to the mental outlook of an advanced social group which could evolve the ethical doctrines of impersonal religions or the code of punishment a Hindu believes he has to submit to in case of non-compliance with ordinary social laws. It is in fact the product of a stage of culture when the distinction between sin and crime is eliminated and society and religious sanctity are conceived as identical realities. Law and order, privileges and obligations, mutualities and submission to social

authority thus derive an additional impetus from the blending of these two culture traits, which results in an almost automatic or slavish compliance with custom in society.

There is another important factor involved in this social process—which has been responsible for the survival of the custom of double funeral in Mūṇḍā-Dravidian villages. This custom is still found in its pristine form in those villages which are mostly inhabited by members of a particular tribe or clan. Where there has been intrusion of Hindu elements even in the interior of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Plateau, the custom has lost much of its significance. Where *mahājans* and other floating people have entered and settled, the importation of capital and the facile credit which it affords, has led to a disintegration of the indigenous beliefs and practices leading to the substitution of the custom by a religious ceremony borrowed partly from the code of popular Hinduism. Most of the tribes of Mūṇḍārī ethnic type, living in the compact area of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Plateau, have preserved up to this day the elements of culture which they have inherited from their early ancestors though to a certain extent moulded by the influence of a changed environment. In Kōlhān in Singbhum in the Chōṭā-Nāgpur Plateau where the Hōs live under a sort of protective administration, each village is inhabited by members of a particular clan and retains to a great extent some of the characteristic traits of primitive culture which in other zones, due to stress of contact with more dynamic elements of culture

have lost much of their social or survival values. We find even to day in Kōlhān the same system of tribal government and a more or less centralised control under the divisional chieftain as well as elected or hereditary clan-chiefs⁶, we find also the same economic motive which supplies the spring of social activities and preserves and retains the impress of an archaic culture which would otherwise have been thrown into the dynamic vortex of cultural miscegenation.

The institution of village dormitories furnishes another example of how the practical utility of a custom which has become obsolete in many parts due to a change in economic life, has nourished and maintained it inspite of disintegration in the indigenous beliefs and practices found everywhere. The institution of village dormitories or, in other words, the custom of segregating the unmarried in savage society is found among most of the aboriginal tribes of the Chōṭā-Nagpur Plateau, viz, the Mūṇḍās, the Hōs, the Oraons, the Tamāriās, the Khāriās, etc, some of the tribes of the Central Provinces, viz, the Gonds, the Bhuiyās etc, most of the Naga tribes of Assam, the Aos, the Memis, the Lhotas, the Angamis, the Semas, the Changs, the Konyak tribes of the Naga Hills, the Kukis and some of the tribes of Melanesia and Polynesia. The principle of segregation is understood and followed in many parts of the world, but for our purposes the instances above cited will suffice. The Mūṇḍās and

⁶ *District Gazetteer—Singbhum.*

the Hos call it *giti-ora*, the Orāons call it *jōnkerpā* or *dhūmkūriā*, the Bhuiyās *dhāngarbāsā*, the Gonds know it by the term *gotalghar*, the Aos and the Semas call it *morung*, the Memis have two names for it, the boys' dormitory is known as *ikhuchi*, while the girls' is termed *iloichi* and the Angami call it *kichuki*. All young bachelors of a Mūṇḍā village or *tōlā*, as it is called, have a fixed common dormitory in the house of a Mūṇḍā neighbour who may have a hut to spare for the purpose. ⁷ Likewise the unmarried girls of a village sleep together in the house of a childless old Mūṇḍā couple or in the house of a Mūṇḍā widow. The girls are taken care of by an elderly matron of the village who exercises a general supervision over their morals. The bachelors of an Orāon village must sleep together during night in the *dhūmkūriā* which is generally situated on the outskirt of the village. There also a separate house for the girls, where the girls pass the night under the guardianship of an elderly duenna. In case a house is not available for the purpose, the girls are distributed among the houses of widows. The Hos also possess two houses, one for the unmarried boys and the other for the maidens of the village. But in many villages, the custom is to distribute the girls among the houses of widows. Many Gond villages in Chattisgarh and the Feudatory States have a large house near the village where unmarried youth and maidens collect and dance and sing together at night. Some

⁷ *Mundas and their Country*, S. C. Roy.

villages possess two, one for the boys and one for the girls. In one part of Bastar, all males, even the married, must sleep in the common house for the eight months of the dry season while their wives sleep in their own houses.⁸ The Bhuiyās have the same system as the Orāons. The bachelors of the village sleep in the large house. According to Col. Dalton some villages have a house for maidens which they occupy without any elderly matron to look after them. The unmarried girls of the Aos sleep in small houses built for the purpose in twos and threes and the unmarried men sleep with them⁹. Among the Lhota Nagas, every Khel (division of a village) possesses one common bachelors' house or *morung* and many of their customs and practices are associated with it. "It is the sleeping place of every Lhota boy from the time he puts first his *dao*-holder till he marries, the rule being only relaxed in the case of boys who are allowed to remain at home and nurse an ailing and widowed mother, or when the house is no longer habitable."¹⁰ In the latter case the Lhota boys collect and help in reconstructing the house. Anybody absenting himself must pay a heavy fine. Among the Angami proper the *morung* is not always resorted to by the bachelors but is used on occasions of ceremonies and *gennas*. In some Memi villages the girls share the same dormi-

⁸ Russell tribes and casts and C. P.

⁹ Angami Nagas—Hutton.

¹⁰ Lhota Nagas.— Do.

tory as the young men. The boys sleep on an upper platform, the girls in a lower. It is only the Sema Nagas that do not allow their girls to live in the dormitories. The boys may frequently collect and dance and sing in the *morungs* but it is not obligatory that they should sleep in the dormitories at night.¹¹

The customs and observances connected with the dormitories are many and varied and are determined by the stage of culture of the tribe. People who are near urban centres are gradually giving up these practices. Those that did not possess separate houses for the girls are setting up girls' dormitories. Amongst the Aos who seldom possessed separate houses for the girls, the Christian villages have lately resorted to a girls' dormitory with an aged dame in charge. A detailed description of the social, economic and magico-religious observances in Orāon dormitories is to be found in S. C. Roy's monograph on the tribe. Col. Dalton also gives a short account of the same in his *Ethnology of Bengal*. He writes that the Orāons have a regular system of fagging in the *dhūmkūriā*. The smaller boys serve those of larger growth, shampoo their limbs, comb their hair and so on and they are sometimes subjected to severe discipline to 'make men' of them. Where the boys and girls share the same dormitory as amongst the Gonds, the part of the small boys is played by the girls. As soon as the girls enter the *gotalghar* after supper, they are to bow to the Sirdar or captain

¹¹ Sema Nagas.— Do.

of the dormitory after which each girl takes a boy, combs his hair and massages his hands and arms to refresh him. They then sing and dance together till late at night when they get tired and retire to their bed. The members of a dormitory after they find admission to the house serve in a number of ways the villagers who have occasion to ask for their help. They help the villagers during the busy agricultural season in all their operations, assist them in constructing their huts, look after their comforts, take care of their guests and participate in the annual hunt. Primitive society in India as elsewhere is characterised by an absence of a hierarchy of economic organisation. That economic interdependence as found among the castes in India is practically unknown among most of the tribal people. On the other hand we find a self-sufficing economic aggregate, where there is hardly any division of labour and the social solidarity of the members makes possible an orderly organisation of economic life without evolving a complicated process of social formation which culminates in the institution of functional castes. Again the absence of a well-assessed division of labour in primitive society, leads to the disappearance of hereditary skill or technique which favours the formation of artisan classes or guilds, so that spontaneous co-operation in domestic and economic life becomes essential. The dormitory house therefore affords the training ground for educating the children of the village

in all matters relating to social and economic life of the tribe, so that they may participate in all activities of social or economic order.

In Bastar, the Gond boys have a regular organisation, their captain being called Sirdar and the master of the ceremonies Kotwār while there are other officials bearing the designations of state officers.¹² The Oraons also have a similar organisation and the captain known as *dhāngar mūhāto* has an acknowledged position among the village officials.¹³ The roots of political organisation are to be traced to these dormitories which are characterised by a group solidarity seldom paralleled by any other social institution either primitive or advanced. The *dhūmkūria* fraternity, remarks Col. Dalton, are under the severest penalties bound down to secrecy in regard to all that takes place in their dormitory and even girls are punished if they dare tell stories.¹⁴ They are not allowed to join in the dances till the offence is condoned and it is the severest punishment that can be imagined by a girl. The girls, otherwise very frank, will withdraw as soon as questions regarding their dormitories are put to them. Nothing makes a Naga girl look more distressed than a single question on their *morung* life. Dr. Hutton, describing the discipline of the Memi dormitories, remarks that publicity is probably an efficient

¹² *Tribes and Casts*. G. P. by Russell.

¹³ *The Oraons*.—S. G. Roy.

¹⁴ Dalton,—*Ethnology and Bengal*.

bar to flirtation. The social solidarity found in the dormitories reflects to a great extent on the tribal life and thus accounts for the spontaneous discipline that characterises the conduct of primitive life.

The essential requisites of a dormitory are the musical instruments of the villagers, the weapons of offence and defence used by the members of the house, the trophies or ensigns of the tribe and some mats which are required by the inmates to sleep on and which, among certain tribes, are prepared and supplied by the girls of the village. The Aos and the Konyak tribes hang heads taken from human beings during head-hunting excursions in their *morungs* or in the house of their chief, while the heads of animals killed in chase are always put on in the *morung*. Among the Angami Nagas, when the bridegroom comes to the village, he has to put up in the *morung* on the first night. The chang Nagas use the dormitory as a place of seclusion during the period a man is regarded as *genna* for violating a social custom.

This institution of social segregation has been traced to different sources by various anthropologists and the widely divergent conclusions arrived at go to show the importance of this institution. It is in fact a product of primitive culture and the very existence of this institution in societies which have greatly modified their attitude towards life in the light of present day civilisation may be traced to an appreciation of utility which it

provides. It has been suggested by some authorities that this custom of social segregation of the unmarried has arisen from local exogamy which forbids marital relation within the members of the same village. The theory does not hold good because we have instances to adduce that in many tribes the question of separation does not arise. Where there is only one house for both boys and girls, the idea of avoidance could not have led to the introduction of the custom. From Assam we learn that the separation of the sexes has been an after-thought and is a product of comparatively higher culture. Christian examples to a certain extent and Hindu influences to an appreciable extent have worked the change in their angle of vision. Almost all the tribes who possess dormitories, allow great liberty to the women; and slips of morality so long as they are confined to the tribe are scarcely heeded. Within the tribe, writes Sir Herbert Risley, the idea of sexual morality seems hardly to exist and the unmarried Orāons are not far removed from the condition of modified promiscuity which prevails among many of the Australian tribes.¹⁵ This is perhaps an exaggerated statement of the actual conditions prevailing in the tribaldom, but some such license is allowed at stated times after periods of sex inhibition forced upon the primitive man by strenuous outdoor life.

The position of women among the Nagas, so far as morality is concerned, may be summed up

¹⁵ Risley,—*Tribs and Castes of Bengal*.

in the following lines of Dr. Hutton: "While the Ao girl is bound to admit men to the girls' house at night, chastity before marriage prevails among the Semas, where the marriage price of a girl is reduced at least by 50% by the fact of her having had an intrigue. The Angamis would seem to fall somewhere between the Ao and the Semas, for while separate girls' dormitory does not exist in Angami villages, though they are found in Memi villages, girls are not looked after with the same jealousy as that with which a Sema girl is watched until her marriage".¹⁶

Where the boys and girls sleep in the same dormitory, sexual license must be carried to a great extent. Mr. Davies, speaking of the Nagas generally says,—“I should say that it was very rare for a girl not to have at least one lover.” Among the Gonds the married boys often sleep in the common house and, as it is improper and impious to have sexual intercourse in one's own house, the Maria Gonds retire to the dormitories when occasion arises. This custom according to Russell is due to the belief that if a Maria Gond performs sexual intercourse with his wife in his own house it would be an insult to the goddess of wealth who lives in the house and the effect would be to drive her away.¹⁷ Sexual intercourse was practised as a physiological necessity even where it was not regarded as essential to procreation. The belief ascribed to the Maria Gonds must be an unusual development of their

¹⁶ *Sema Nagas*,—Hutton.

¹⁷ Russell,—*Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*.

psychic life in recent years. Even where the boys and the girls of a village do not occupy the same dormitory and the maidens sleep in a separate house under the guardianship of an elderly duenna, the girls find their way to the bachelors' hall and in many villages sleep there.

The origin of this institution which plays so important a part in the tribal life of the people may be traced to a conception of utility from social and economic points of view. This institution has originated in hunting communities and even now those tribes that possess this institution are hunting tribes or have recently given up that role. The forest and the chase supply them with most of their daily necessities. The Nagas are even now head-hunters and every year they are said to kill a number of human beings to suit their magico-religious ideas. Although the aboriginal tribes of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau and the Central Provinces have taken to agriculture as a means of livelihood, the hunting and predatory life finds expression in the annual hunt and mimetic dances depicting their former life. Besides, these tribes are all sparing in the matter of construction of huts. Each family generally has but one hut with a single room where everything serving its domestic needs is kept. It is a bed room as well as a store. They cook their food and sit ordinarily on the verandah which is a raised floor two to three feet wide. The house is sometimes made of bamboo matting plastered with mud and has a thatched roof.

Now, when the tribes were in a hunting stage,

they pitched their temporary sheds near jungles which were infested with ferocious beasts of prey. These had to be guarded against and so, it may be presumed, an outer house was made where the ablest hunters of the tribe lived. When occasion arose they fought with the beasts, the women, children and old people living safe behind them. The origin of these bachelors' houses may be traced to these outer houses while the dormitories for girls arose from a different economic motive. Each family has one house where the master and mistress sleep with all their children. When the children grow up this arrangement cannot be adhered to, for the girls must be removed and this is done by setting up separate houses for all the girls of the village to sleep in, and where the hut cannot be made the girls are distributed amongst the widows of the village who may keep them in their rooms during the night. The boys are removed to the dormitories as soon as they attain a certain age.

In some tribes the prestige and sanctity of the institution derive additional support from the architectural skill with which the bachelors' hall is generally constructed, for much of the resources of the young tribesmen are expended to build a pretentious habitation for the tribal manhood.

The sexual liberty enjoyed by the young girls of the tribes referred to 'above before their marriage, is to a large extent due to the custom of separating the bachelors and maidens of the village. Were the girls to remain in their fathers' house there would be some sort of check on their

movements and the sexual license enjoyed by them and tacitly recognised by the tribe would be much circumscribed.

An analysis of beliefs and rites reveals the economic importance of social institutions. There are societies which regard marriage as more important than the results of matrimony, there are societies again which regard results as more sacred than the ceremony. The more primitive the society the greater is the consideration for the results or the economic benefits arising out of marriage. The Hindu conception of marriage for the purposes of reproduction can thus be taken as an earlier view where the results are more important than the actual union, the consummation is not in mating but in reproduction; this is the explanation of the popular conception that the son frees the father from eternal damnation. Economic benefits are also regarded as of greater importance than the mating itself, and this is perhaps the reason why we find disparity of age between husband and wife in primitive society, where wife is sometimes older than the husband. Even among the cultivator class in certain Provinces, the wife is generally older than the husband.

The idea of economic benefit is responsible for the custom of bride price, which has been responsible for many of the ills the primitive people suffer from. If marriage is for economic value, the woman must be sold, for the supply must adjust itself to the demand and the result is a high bride-price, leading to its concomittant evils, permanent celibacy, promiscuity. lax morality, divorces etc.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. DIFFERENCES IN CUSTOM BETWEEN THE HOS AND THE MUNDAS IN THE SINGBHUM DISTRICT.

Rev. W. L. Singh who is a native of Singbhum, states that the difference in the customs of the Mundāris in Singbhum and the Hos is as follows:—

Burial.—The Hos burn their dead in their house-yard (*rāchā*) and next day they bring a branch of the *pipul* (*Ficus Indica*) and pour water on the branch and then sprinkle the ashes with water from the branch. The bones then show, and they pick up bones *indiscriminately* (that is, you cannot say for certain to what part of the body the bones belong) and put them into a new earthen vessel, which they hang on their *pinḍā*. Then they fix a day and invite relations and friends, and make a bamboo-house on the day fixed and take the bones in front of that house, dancing and beating drums. Wherever the man had his paddy fields or *gōṛā* field and *kōlōm* (*khalihān*) they take the bones again, and thence to the *saṣān* (burial ground) in the middle of village or near their village, making lamentation.

The Mūṇḍāris do not burn *in their courtyard*, but take the body *out of the village* to the burning place of the village (not of the *kili* or sept only). They pick up the bones that day and take them home and after certain days, with lamentation and beating of drums, bury in their *saṣān*.

Among Hos, *hargāri* (burial of the bones) is allowed in any village, but among Mūṇḍāris is only allowed if the deceased belongs to the village *kili* (the sept of the founders of the village): among Hos any one can set up a *saṣāṇḍīrī* (burial-ground-stone) and among Mūṇḍāris only the village *kili*.

Marriage.—Marriage price in the Kolhan is very heavy,—money and 30 pairs of bullocks. Among Mūṇḍāris, some pay bullocks but all money.

“Hos drag women away from dancing place which the Mundāris don’t do”.

When Hos see a snake pass, a tree fall or hear a jackal call, the marriage is off completely, but when they see other less evil omens, the two parties meet at a boundary (*siwāna*) of two villages, each bringing a red cock and sacrifice it to Singbongā, then the marriage goes on. Among the Mūṇḍāris the marriage is off if there is any bad omen at all.

T. S. Macpherson, C. I. E., I. C. S.
(*Judge, Patna High Court.*)

II. ON THREE RECENT INSTANCES OF SELF-MUTILATION FOR PROPITIATING TWO GODDESSES AND A GOD.

(A *simple offering* has been defined to be anything which is devoted to the service of a deity. It may be either an altar, a slave, a garment or a jewel. It may also include either blood from the body of a devotee or any of his limbs such as the head or the hand or the tip of the tongue after it has been lopped off from his body).

In Bengal whenever a person suffers from a disease, his or her mother makes a vow that, on his or her recovery from it, she would offer to the Goddess Kālī, blood from her own breast. In his well-known article on "*Human Sacrifice in Ancient India*" which was published in "*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*" Vol. XLV. pp. 76. ff., Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has stated that, on his recovery from a serious attack of disease, his mother offered to the afore-mentioned goddess, blood from her own breast.

In the northern part of the Central Provinces of India, the offering, to the fire, of blood taken from the little finger of the sacrificial victim, serves as a substitute for the sacrifice of the whole human being. This fact was brought to light during the trial of a case of ritual murder which occurred in the year 1905 in a small village named Satpara in the District of Damoh in the same province. *

* Vide the article on "*The Little Finger*" in "*Man in India*" Vol. III. p. 190.

In my paper "*On A Recent Instance of Human Sacrifice from the Central Provinces of India*" which has been published in "*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*" Vol. XIII.

I have shown that in the case of a human sacrifice which was offered in December, 1924, some blood taken from the little finger of the sacrificed girl Rukman was at first put upon a piece of bread and then offered to the goddess Kālī. But as this did not prove efficacious for curing the boy Lachhman's illness, the girl was sacrificed subsequently.

Then we come to the practice of self-mutilation wherein, under the influence of religious fervour, men have cut off their heads or other limbs and then offered up the severed members as sacrifices to their tutelary deities. The prevalence of this belief is illustrated by a remarkable case which occurred on the 20th March 1913 in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces of India. In this case, an illiterate peasant became a *Sadhu* and stationed himself in a temple, where he listened to frequent recitations of legends from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahābhārata*. Now one of the legends which appealed to the spiritual side of his nature most strongly and stirred up, either him, keen religious fervour, went on to say that, on several occasions, the demon King Ravana had made an offering of his own head to the God Sīvā and that on each of those occasions, the decapitated head had been miraculously restored to the headless trunk. This stimulated his imagination to such a pitch that, on the above-mentioned

day, he cut off his left hand with a hatchet and offered up the lopped off arm as a sacrifice to the god Siva. The deluded victim of this hallucination subsequently appeared before the priest in charge of the temple and showed him the bleeding stump of his hand, whereupon first aid was rendered to him and he was then removed to the hospital whence he is reported to have departed nobody knew where. *

A similar instance of self-mutilation for offering the lopped-off portion of the devotees body to a goddess, under the influence of religious fervour, recently occurred at Cawnpore in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh on Monday the 10th August 1925, as will appear from the following account thereof, which has been published in the Bengali Daily News-Paper "*Nayak*" of Saturday the 30th Srābana 1332, B. S. (15th August, 1925).

मायेर चरणे रसना दान ।

कानपुर हइते आगत एकटि आश्चर्य संवाद हिन्दि "स्वतन्त्र" पत्र पत्रस्थ करियाह्वेन । संवादटि एइ, गत २०इ आगष्ट सोमवार तथा-कार तपेखरी देवीर मन्दिरे याइया एकटि लोक श्राखित कुरिका द्वारा निजेर रसनाग्र छेदन करिया ताह्व मायेर चरणे अर्पण करे । ताह्वार मुख दिया दरदर धाराय श्राखित स्राव हइते थाके । किन्तु ताह्वते ओ लोकटि अविचलित थाके । एइ संवाद सहरे राष्ट्र हइवामात्र सहस्र सहस्र लोक मन्दिर प्राङ्गणे समवेत हय । ताह्वारा लोकठिके मन्दिर हइते अपसारित करिते चेष्टा करे ; किन्तु से बले, यतक्षण काली माता ताह्वार जिह्वा संयोजित करिया ना दिवेन, ततक्षण से किङ्कुतेइ मन्दिर हइते अन्यत्र याइवे ना । एखनओ लोकटि मन्दिर प्राङ्गणे पड़िया आइ ।

* See my article entitled "*The Folk-lore of the Headless Man in North Bihar*" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. X. p. 499.

English Translation.

The offering by a devotee of [his lopped-off] tongue to the Mother-Goddess.

The Hindi newspaper "*Svatantra*" has given publicity to the undermentioned strange news which has been received from Cawnpore:—"On Monday the 10th August (1925) a man went to the temple of the goddess Tapeswarī (at Cawnpore) and after cutting off the tip of his tongue with a sharpened knife, presented it as an offering at the feet of the Mother-goddess Tapeswarī. Blood flowed in streams from his mouth. In spite of this, he remained unperturbed. On hearing the news of this incident, thousands of people flocked to the court-yard of the temple. They tried to remove the man from the temple. But he said that until the goddess Kālī would reunite [the tongue], he would not, on an account, leave the temple and go elsewhere. The man is still lying in the court-yard of the temple".

I am inclined to think that the same causes which prompted the *Sādhu* at Nimar to cut off his hand and to present it as an offering to God Siva, also had actuated the devotee at Cawnpore to cut off the tip of his tongue to present it to the goddess Tapeswarī. The constant reading of the legend in the *Rāmāyana* which describes that the demon King Ravana, on several occasions cut off his own head and offered it to the God Siva and that the decapitated head was immediately reunited with his trunk, must have also stimulated the imagination and the religious fervour of the

Sādhu at Cawnpore, and prompted him to cut off the tip of his tongue and to offer it to the goddess Tapeswarī under the delusion that the goddess would reunite the lopped-off tip with the rest of his tongue.

Another instance of self-capitation has recently occurred in a village named Takarguḍū near Junāgaḍa in Kathiawar. It is reported that a man named Chelābhāi Patel who was of very devout worshipper of the god siva, performed the worship of his tutelary deity and then after cutting off his own head, presented it as an offering to his deityship, as will appear from the following account which has been published in the Bengali newspaper "Dainik Basumati" of Friday the 18th Bhadra, 1332 B. S. (the 4th Sept. 1925):—

शिवमूर्तिर सखमुखे बलिदान ।

जुनागढ़ २७शे आगष्ट ।

ठकरगुड़ा ग्रामे चेला भाइ पेटेल नामक एकजन शिव भक्त रात सोमवार भोर ५ टार समय नियमानुयायौ पूजा करिया कयेकजन लोकेर सखमुखे शिवमूर्तिके प्रणाम करिया तरवारि द्वारा निज मस्तक ह्दैन करिवा शिवमूर्तिर उपर राखियाह्लि, एइ संवाद चारिदिके कड़ाइया पढ़िवामात्र हजार हजार लोक एइ दृश्य देखिबार जन्य कुटिया आसिते लागिल । शिवभक्त मस्तक ह्दैन करिवार पूर्व्व एकटु कागजे निम्न लिखित कथागुलि लिखिया सखमुखे राखियाह्लि :— आमि ए संसारे कोन अन्याय कार्य करि नाइ, ओ आमार कोन भय नाइ । आमि निजे भक्तिपूर्व्वचित्ते आमार मस्तक ह्दैन करिया शिवजीके अर्पण करिलां ।

English Traslation.

Self-decapitation before the deity Siva.

Junāgaḍa, (Thursday), the 27th August 1928.
On Monday last (the 24th August 1928) in a

village named Takarguḍā, a man named Chelābhāi Patel who was a very devout worshipper of the God S'iva, performed the worship of the deity (Siva) at 5 A. M. in the morning, with due rites and ceremonies in the presence of several persons and after doing his obeisance to his deityship, cut off his own head, and placed it (as an offering) before the image of S'iva. As soon as this news spread all round, thousands of people flocked in to see this sight. Before cutting off his own head, the devotee had written on a piece of paper the following words and had placed it before his deityship. "I have done nothing wrong in this world and I have nothing to fear. I have, with my heart full of devotion to my deity, cut off my head with my own hands and have made an offering of it to the god S'iva".

I am of opinion that in this case also, the devotee must have been influenced by the legend which narrates that the demon king Ravana of Lanka used to cut off his own head and to make an offering of the decapitated head to the God S'iva, who instantly caused it to be reunited with his own devotee's body. But the news from Janagaḍa does not state whether the devotee in this case also laboured under the hallucination that by the grace of his tutelary deity, his decapitated head would be rejoined to his body.

A third instance has recently occurred in the temple of the goddess Kālī at Kālighat near Calcutta. In this instance also, the devotee while worshipping the goddess Kālī suddenly took out

a razor and cut his own windpipe with it. It is stated that he did this act of self-mutilation in the hope of obtaining the favour of the goddess Kālī and thereby attaining salvation. Though he subsequently stated before the trying magistrate at Alipore that he had done this deed with a view to free himself from the excruciating ailment of colic pain from which he had been suffering since a long time past, I am inclined to think that this subsequent statement is an after-thought and that he actually cut his own windpipe for the purpose of obtaining the goddess Kālī's favour so that he might attain salvation. The interesting details of this third instance will appear from the undermentioned items of news which appeared in the Bengali Daily newspaper, "*The Dainik Basu-mati*" of 16th and 29th January 1926 :—

काली मन्दिरे आत्महत्यार चेष्टा ।

आसामीर कारादण्ड

पाठकवर्यर दोष हय स्मरण आइ, किंजु दिन पुर्व तेकड़ि गोयाला नामक एक जन लोक कालिघाटेर काली मन्दिरे मायेर सम्मुखे आत्महत्या करिबार चेष्टा करियाहिल । आलिपुरेर पुलिस म्याजिस्ट्रेट खान साहेब आबदुलेर रजलासे ताहाके सेइ जन्य अभियुक्त करा हइयाहिल, गत २८ थे जानुयारी एइ मामलार बिचार हइया गियाहू म्याजिस्ट्रेट आसामीर प्रति तिन सहाइ बिनाश्रम कारादण्डेर ब्यावस्था करियाहू । आसामी आदालते बलियाहू ये अनेक दिन हइते व्यापार व्यापारि कष्ट पाइतेहिल । घटतार दिन से यत्ननाय अस्थिर हइया कि करितेहिल ना करितेहिल से सम्बन्धे ताहार कोन खान हिल ना । *

* Vide, *The Dainik Basumati*, of 29th January, (1926). (15th Magh. 1332. B. S. Friday).

English Translation.

Attempt at Suicide in the Temple of the Goddess Kālī.

Imprisonment of the accused.

The readers (of this news-paper) are aware that, a few days ago, a man named Tekari Goālā attempted to commit suicide in the temple of the Goddess Kālī, at Kālighāt. For this [offence], he had been placed on trial before Khan Saheb Abdul, Police Magistrate of Alipore. The hearing of this case was finished on the 28th January last (1926). The Magistrate sentenced him to three weeks' simple imprisonment. The accused stated before the court that he had been suffering from (colic) pain from a long time and that he did not know under what circumstances he committed the deed on the day of occurrence, as he was suffering from excruciating pain.

कालीघाटे

मायेर मन्दिरे हुलस्थूल

मुक्ति लामेर जन्य गलाय चुर ।

गत १५इ जानुयारी शुक्रवार कालीघाट कालीमातार मन्दिरे एक अप्रत्याशित रोमाञ्चकर काण्ड हइया गियाछे । ऐ दिन सूर्यग्रहण उपलक्ष मफःखल हइते बहु यात्री समवेत हइयाछिल । १ जन पश्चिम देशीय वयस्क हिन्दु मन्दिरे पुजा करिते करिते हटात एक खानि चुर बाहिर करिया खासनालि एकेबारे काठिया फेले । रक्त मन्दिर प्राङ्गन रक्तमय हइया जाय । अन्यान्य यात्रीरा इहा देखिया भये विन्मये एकेबारे किर्कतब्य विमुड हइया स्थाणुर न्याय दांढाइया थाके । एक निमेषेर मध्य एइ काज हय बलिया केह ए कार्य लोकटिके बाधा दिते पारे नाइ । मुक्तिलामेर आशाय लोकटि गलाय चुर दियाछिल बलिया प्रकाश । लोकटिके हांसपाताले पाठान हइयाछे । *

* Vide, *The Dainik Basumati* of 16th January 1926. (2nd Magh 1332 B. S.).

English Translation.

A Great Sensation in the Goddess-Mother's
Temple at Kalighat.

Cutting the windpipe with a Razor in the hope of
Attaining Salvation.

A horrible incident unexpectedly took place at the Goddess-mother Kālī's temple at Kalighat on Friday, the 15th January (1926). On that day, many pilgrims, who had come from the mofussil on account of the solar-eclipse, were assembled (at the temple). *An elderly up-country Hindu, while worshipping the Goddess, at the temple suddenly took out a razor and cut his own windpipe with it.* The courtyard of the temple welterd with (his) blood. Seeing this, the other pilgrim's became dumb-founded with fear and astonishment and stood motionless. As this act was done in a trice, nobody could prevent that person from doing it. It is reported that the man cut his own windpipe with a razor in the hope of attaining salvation. The man has been sent to the hospital for treatment. * *

Sarat Chandra Mitra,

M. A., B. L.

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* * This paper was read before the Section of Anthropology of the thirteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Bombay in January, 1926, and has been subsequently modified and enlarged.

III. A JUANG CEREMONY.

On the 16th of January 1928 at Kantala in Pal Lahara, a ceremony was performed by Mani, my instructor in Juang, so that I might learn the Juang language with ease. On the previous evening I had promised to pay him some money to be spent in giving offerings to the Juang gods, and he made this the occasion of sending a specific prayer on my behalf.

The articles used were the following :—

- (1) About a seer of sun-dried rice, recently washed and still wet (*ākātā*),
- (2) a small quantity of powdered turmeric (*sāngsāng*),
- (3) Two young black cocks (*senkōe*),
- (4) a burning piece of wood and incense (*lālāyet* and *dhurā*),
- (5) a leaf-cup which had been turned into a lamp by placing a cotton-wick steeped in castor-oil in it,
- (6) an axe (*hāḍisā*),
- (7) the drums of the *majāng* (Chāngu),
- (8) a small quantity of cow-dung.

The ceremony—

Mani, who was to perform the ceremony, had eaten nothing since morning. He bathed and put on clean clothes in order to perform the ceremony. A small piece of ground in front of the bachelors' dormitory had been previously cleansed and besmeared with cowdung. When I arrived there, mani came out of the dormitory and stood in

front of the house facing east. He held the lamp in his palms and lifting it towards the Sun said,—

Satypjemto māsike tale Bāhasindari upare
 Truth just as you are below Bahasindari above
dharmadevatā bābure āing dāgātāinge
 Dharma god to this gentleman our language (?)
sāmuisere. Begābegi merane thārare.
 give soon bring the language.

Translation—O Bāhasindari (the goddess of the earth), who art below, and O Dharmadevatā (the god of righteousness), who art above—(you two) who art the same as truth (be witnesses or I pray unto thee), bestow unto this gentleman [the gift of] our language. Bring it unto him soon.

Then he sat on the ground and drew three lines on the ground, besmeared with cowdung, by means of the powdered turmeric. The lines were about a foot in length and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches apart. Then, while uttering the following sentences, he placed altogether nine balls of rice-offering to the deities worshipped by the tribe. There were three offerings on each line.

- (1) *Gala Budhambudhi pāisenā.*
Well, Budhambudhi, take it.
- (2) *Budhambudhā pāisenāmdē.*
Budhambudhā, you take it.
- (3) *Rusiāni, āmdē pāisenā.*
Rusiāni, you take it.
- (4) *Tale Bāhasindari, āmdē pāisenā.*
Below (in the earth) Bahasindari, you take it.
- (5) *Upare Dharmadebatā, āmdē pāisenā.*
Alone (in the sky), Dharmadevatā, you take it.

(6) *Gala Pitāsani, āmde pāyenā.*

Well, Pitāsani, you take it.

(7) *Patrasarani, āmde pāyenā.*

Patrasarapi, you take it.

(8) *Lakshmi devatā, āmde pāyenā.*

Lakshmi goddess, you take it.

(9) *Jeteke Buḍhāriki, gātā Babuke thārare*

All those deities, well to the gentleman language.

medenchenāte, aphe pāyesenā etc.

give, you too take it.

Translation—Well Buḍhāmbuḍhi, take it.

Buḍhāmbudhā, take it.

Rusiāni, take it.

Thou Bāhāsindari, who art below (in the earth),

take it.

Thou Dharmadevatā, who art above (in the sky)

take it.

Well Pitāsani, you take it.

Pitvasarani, you take it.

(And) all those remaining (referring to the spirits of the ancestors), bestow unto this gentleman our language, you [all] take it.

While making the offerings with his right hand, Mani kept his left hand touching the elbow of the right in a pose of reverence. When the offering was over, one of the cocks was set amidst the balls of rice, and Mani spoke to it to eat the offerings in the name of the above deities. When it began to peck at the rice, Mani was satisfied that the offerings had been accepted.

Then he caught hold of the bird, plucked a few feathers from its neck and put them in the leaf-cup serving as the lamp. Then the head was

severed by being pressed on the axe, which was held edge upwards on the ground by means of the foot. The head was placed on the rice facing the priest. The body was there picked up and some blood sprinkled on the drums (*changu*) of the dormitory, which had been placed on the verandah immediately in front of the spot where the worship was taking place. Then the body was thrown aside. The second black cock was treated in a similar manner, and this ended the ceremony.

There was feast in the village after the worship.

A note on the Juāng pantheon.—It would appear from a perusal of the formulas of worship that *Lakshmi*, one of the Hindu deities, has been incorporated in the Juāng pantheon, *Rusiāni* is properly speaking of feminine *Ris*. The tradition goes that a long time ago some *Ris* and his wife came to the forests in Juaug-land and accepted the fruits and roots which the Juāngs offered to them. From that time onward, the *Ris* or his wife has become a deity worshipped by the Juāngs. The word *Pitasani* in Oriya means a female malignant ghost and is equivalent to *Petni* in Bengali. *Dharmadevatā* is supposed to be the good god of righteousness who resides in the Sun. *Budhāmbudhā* and *Budhāmbudhi* are however the supreme god-heads.

Nirmal Kumar Bose, M.A.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the April (1930) number of *Man*, Mary Levin, concludes her paper on "Mummification and Cremation in India". She opines that the object of Mummification in ancient India was to render the body fit to be offered in the flames by rendering it "sacrificially pure by the removal of all foul matter", and that of the subsequent cremation was "to give the body a share of the universal life of the sun" and thus make it immortal. "Mummification restores the body ; cremation revitalizes it". "The bodies of the dead in India were mummified that they might be long preserved. They were cremated that they might become reanimated. Both processes were believed to be essential for the attainment of immortality".

In *Man* for May (1930), Dr. J. H. Hutton, in a note on "Naga Chank Ornaments of South Indian Affinities" mentions the use of the chank shell as a bracelet worn on the wrist among certain Konyak Nagas, particularly in Nokphang in the unadministered area. The columella of the shell is cut away as among certain parts of South India.

In the same number of *Man*, K. de B. Codrington in a paper on "The Archæology of Indian Sectarianism" adduces evidence to show that the sculpture with which a Hindu temple is adorned is no criterion of its sect, at least in the early Medieval Period (5th and 6th centuries A. D.), and

that "there are even grounds for suggesting that sectarianism had not yet come into being, at least as the later Sanskrit texts portray it, and as we understand it now".

In "Folk-Lore" for March, (1930), Prof. Henry Balfour in a paper "Concerning Thunderbolts," mentions an interesting instance of a ground stone celt ("thunder-stone") regarded by the Ao Nagas of village Tangratsu in the Naga Hills as still dangerous and capable of causing disaster instead of averting it. The Ao Naga who had found it kept it presumably for luck, but, contrary to expectations, during the first year of possession the owner's field-house was blown down, and in 1928 his house was struck by lightening. This destructive activity of the "thunderbolt" was considered to be due to a curious reddish streak running across the celt and regarded as indicating the lightening itself. The celt was sent by Dr. J. H. Hutton to the Pitt Rivers Museum and, curiously enough, "during the November gale of 1928 a large portion of the Museum roof was blown off!" Mr. Balfour gives another instance of faith in the mysterious potency of an Indian "thunderbolt" as follows: "It was mentioned to me by Dr. J. H. Hutton, who, in spite of several attempts, has failed to acquire it from its owner an elderly Naga of intemperate habits who sets great store upon the celt. On the day following an orgy of drinking, he sits licking his 'thunderbolt' in full reliance upon its peculiar efficiency for cooling his burning tongue".

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXV, 1929, No. 1, (issued April, 1930) Dr. J. H. Hutton contributes an "Outline of Chang Grammar" together with a Vocabulary, Dr. Provash Chandra Basu describes the *Head-dress of the Hill-Tribes of Assam*, Prof. Kalipada Mitra writes on the "Originals and Parallels of Some Santal Folk Tales", Prof. D. N. Majumbar contributes a paper on "Race and Adaptibilities", and Dr. Probbhash Chandra Basu writes on "The Anthropometry of the Bhuiyas of Mayurbhanj", and Dr. J. H. Hutton and Mr. J. P. Mills contribute an illustrated article on the "Ancient Monoliths of North Cachar".

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March (1930), Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer contributes an article on "Prosemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian".

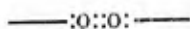
In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for March (1930), Prof. Jean Przyluski writes a most interesting note on "Pre-Dravidian and Proto-Dravidian" in which referring to his own previous suggestions that "the Mundas had superimposed themselves in India upon a black population, wherefrom the present Dravidians originated", and that "the *pūjā* should be at the base of the cult of the black aborigines, while the animal sacrifices might have been introduced by the over-running Mundas", writes as follows: "If my point of view be correct, the present Dravidians, although they may be of mixed blood, had for their distant ancestors the black people of the Deccan. Also, as far as one can trace their

history, these were already established in India; one cannot therefore speak of a Dravidian invasion and the term Pre-Dravidian has no meaning in the present state of our knowledge. If one wishes to name the aborigines, who, before any contact with the Mundas, spoke the Dravidian dialects, I propose to call them Proto-Dravidians. The term does not pre-judge the question whether the population there designated was ethnically homogeneous or heterogeneous—purely Austroloid, or composed of many elements. Therefore we can arrive at the following scheme: Proto-Dravidian; Munda; Indo-Aryan". Dr. Przyluski thinks that "the Pre-Dravidian theory is out of date, that the Kols or Mundas are posterior to the Proto-Dravidians, and that the term 'Pre-Dravidian' is not scientifically based upon a real fact". He identifies the Pulindas or Kulindas of ancient Sanskrit literature with the Kols or Mundas. Says he, "To the aborigines with dark skin, the primitive ancestors of the Dravidians, were superposed the conquering Kols or Mundas, having a brighter colour. The Mundas are not the Pre-Dravidians, they subdued the Proto-Dravidians.....It is not necessary to consider the Kols and Proto-Dravidians as rival races always occupying distinct territories. In some cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, these two ethnic elements lived together in the same territory; an aristocracy with a bright complexion and a body of plebians with a dark complexion. This organization is of great importance to the

historians as also to the linguists ; it is specially helpful in the explanation of the presence of numerous loan-words in the vocabulary of the Dravidian language".

In the June (1930) number of the same Journal, Mr. G. Ram Das continues his paper on "Rāvana and his Tribe".

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for July (1930), Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his 'Study in Bird-Myths'.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Black Roadways : A Study of Jamaican Folk Life.--By *Martha Warren Beckwith*. (*University of North Carolina Press*. 1929). PP. XX+243. Price, \$ 3.00.

In this highly interesting volume we have a delightful picture of the folklife of the Jamaican Negroes. In the first chapter we have a brief account of "The Land and its People". Between 1655 and 1805 as many as 850,000 slaves were imported from Africa to the West Indies. The ablest of the Negroes brought to Jamaica were perhaps the Kromanti from the Gold Coast. "The trickster hero of the animal tales, the spider Anansi, is a kind of culture god from this part of the Gold Coast". From further east came the Eboes and Whidahs, both practising circumcision, worshipping reptiles, and making human sacrifices. The duller-witted Congo Negroes from the Slave Coast were in the old slavery days, highly prized for their steadiness and docility. The older differences of race or culture disappeared when, after 1834, the freedom of the island was thrown open to the whole population; and the black peasantry of Jamaica came to be a homogeneous people. The old convention in the West Indies gave to the child of the "fourth generation of union with a white in successive generations" a legal right to rank with the white. In 1921 the Census showed a population of 8 lakhs of whom about 1.68 per cent registered white, 73.43 per cent black,

and 18 per cent coloured. Besides these there is a small percentage of Chinese traders, and a more important group of Indian "coolies" (first imported in 1842 to meet the labour shortage resulting from the abolition of slavery), and the descendants of British (mostly Scotch and Irish) colonized the islands much earlier.

In the second chapter headed 'The Small Settler', we have an account of the economic life of the large number (about a lakh) of Jamaica Negroes who own a patch two of land upon which they build a "ground house" and raise ground provisions for their own use and for sale in the market, besides planting fruit trees and occasionally a hard wood tree for a future inheritance. Yam is the staple food of the Jamaican, but he has a large choice of food (e. g. coco, sweet potato, plantain, peas and beans, corn, cassava) with which to vary his diet. Coffee, ginger, sugar-cane, allspice or pimento are also grown. In chapter III the author gives an account of the Jamaican Negro's methods of fishing, Trapping and Stock-raising, Chapter IV of the Jamaican Village Market, chapter V of Family Life of the Jamaican Negro including birth and marriage customs and chapter VI of the Burial of the Dead. Besides Jamaican beliefs in omens and dreams, we learn something in this book of the folklore and folk-customs connected with house-building, agriculture, fishing, horse racing, love and marriage, and death in Jamaica.

In Chapter VII we are introduced to the spirit World as seen by the Jamaican Negro, and

his precautions and observances to guard against spirits or duppies. Every man is accompanied by two duppies, a good and a bad or tricky one; some say that in sleep the good one stays by a man and the tricky one goes out walking; until it comes back the man cannot wake. When a man goes on a journey, the tricky one should precede him. If it falls behind him, it is likely to harm him. Some persons believe in a realm of duppies lying below the earth arranged much as the lots lie in a graveyard, where the duppies carried on the same occupations and bore the same relations to each other as on earth. Besides duppies, there are the Mermaids who live in deep holes in the rivers and comb their long black hair at midday on its banks, there are the Myals, and Obeahs of Jamaican folk-belief, Chapter VIII gives an account of *obeah* practice. The duppy is the 'shadow' of the dead which lingers about the grave and which may be tempted out of the grave by a member of the dead man's family and "set" upon some one against whom the exorcisor has grudge, or it may be made to perform other services to his advantage. The practice of this power over the shadow is called *obeah*. To cope successfully with the shadow world requires special facilities and a special initiation. A man thus equipped to deal with spirits is called an Obeah Man. There are Obeah Women too, who have the same power and are similarly employed. Although anyone may "set" *obeah* for another, he will go to an authorize dealer in *obeah* to get the proper formula; and to "take off" a duppy set by

another an Obeah Man or Woman must be employed. It is this unique power of the Obeah Man to control the spirit world which is the source of his extraordinary influence in a Negro community. Obeah Men always work by means of particular objects (combs, pins, bones, little carved coffins, feathers and beaks of birds, hoofs and hair of animals, bones or shells of insects, and dried herbs and seeds carried in bundles, which they employ like a fetish or charm. It is, however, the spoken word (such as the curse of the song) to which the special magic clings in all beliefs about Obeah practice. The bundle prepared by the Obeah Man is often directed to be "buried" for its victim. Obeah practitioners also act as doctors to cure the sick. By whatever natural means the Obeah Man may achieve his ends, there is no doubt whatever as to the faith of the Negroes in his spiritual power.

In Chapter IX we have a short account of the Myal People. The earliest and most important of the various religious sects that have flourished from time to time in Jamaica who claimed the power to remove the spells of the *obeah*, through counter spells based upon the same idea of spirit-possession is the Myal Man. Myalism is said to be directly African in origin, and probably began in Jamaica in a secret society composed of men who claimed invulnerability to weapon, and power even to raise the dead. A Myal Man is called a "fore-eyed man" because he alone has the power to see where a shadow is nailed or

the *obeah* buried. He has this power through a talisman which he has received from the spirits or "deaths", during the course of the myal dance. The Myalman's method of summoning duppies is to locate the stolen shadow in some tree, and to parade about the tree with singing and drumming and to pelt it with eggs, fowl and other offerings in order to persuade the duppies to give up the shadow. The crude method still practised in remote country districts is to form a circle about the tree and each one beat the earth with a stone in rhythm to a song. The Myal people recognized the action of certain plants upon the human frame and built up an actual body of useful knowledge about herb medecines, and also experimented with previous herbs with which they did men to death. But far from ascribing their powers to these, they taught the doctrine of a body of animate ghosts employed in shadow catching, whom they alone had the skill to control and conciliate; and the ritual of conciliation they found in African tree worship. They employed dance and song of African pattern and exhibited such fetish objects as the amber and jiggey as instruments of intercommunication with the spirit-world. Their secrets were preserved by an oath drunk in blood and the use of gibberish which only the initiated could understand. As among West African medicine-men prophecy and the phenomenon of hysteria were employed to produce the phantasy of the superhuman. The methods of the Myal 'angelmen' who assembled to pull all the *obeahs* and catch the shadows from the cotton trees, practised

abstinence and sang songs with religious phraseology, have a striking resemblance to the methods of the Tana Bhagat Oraons of Chōṭā Nāgpur in India.

In Chapter X, headed 'The Revivalists', the author gives an interesting account of a Christian religious sect which has arisen since 1860 with the object of defeating the charms of the Obeah Men by the exercise of more potent supernatural forces and gift of communication with the spirit world. Our author thinks that these 'Revivalists' were directly influenced by the Myal 'angels' led by Christian enthusiasts who had received their information in the free churches. These Revivalists claim the gift of healing which they associate with the flowing of water—the healing powers of water of some stream or spring. The most remarkable of these Revivalist groups in Jamaica known as Bedwardism from its founder Bedward centred round the idea of baptism in the healing stream of the Mona River. "In some respects even more remarkable than the Bedward movement in Jamaica although far less spectacular, is the work of the Revivalist healer known as Mammy Forbes", who did much good with her knowledge of healing herbs.

In Chapter XI, the author gives an account of the religious cult known as the Pukkumerian in which the Revivalist and Obeah Man unite. The Pukkumerian leaders are called "governors" or "shepherds", each of whom has attached to himself a good-looking young woman (not his wife) who acts as a confederate under the name of

"governess" or "shepherdess". The two have a secret code of speech which the spirits are supposed to speak when they appear at a meeting, the words spoken in frenzy by one being interpreted by the other according to the formula. The Pukkumerians hold their meetings near a grave-yard, and it is to the ghosts of their own membership that they appeal when spirits are summoned to a meeting. The summoning of ghosts to work harm to some one is done at a closed meeting or "grudge meeting", in which only the "working officers" of the band attend. A "good" meeting is held in the open and is characterized by the presence of spirits. Chapter XII gives an account of the Maroon Negroes who at the present day represent a kind of secret society isolated from other Blacks not only politically (by virtue of their being the earliest free settlers in Jamaica who revolted against the Spanish conquerors and entered into a pact with the English by which the Maroons have reserved for themselves extensive lands and many political rights) but by the tradition of mystery with which they continue to surround themselves. "The Maroons know 'stronger obeah' than any other group; they are more cunning in herb magic, they command a secret tongue (the so-called Kromanti) and they know old songs in this speech 'strong enough to bewitch anybody', they employ old arts which deal with spirits".

In the last chapter (chap. XIII) we have an interesting account of the Folk Art by which this

people give emotional expression to their inner life. The folk art of the Jamaican Negro may be best studied in their witty riddles and proverbs, their imitations of animal cries, songs, instrumental music, dramatic impersonation, dance, and above all their art of story-telling in which all the other artistic expressions find free scope. An exhaustive index, a bibliography and a map add to the value of the work.

Coming of Age in Samoa. A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization.—*By Margaret Mead. (Jonathan Cape, 1929). PP. XV+297. Price 10 S. 6 d. net.*

This is a most fascinating and instructive book written by a trained anthropologist in the light of intimate acquaintance and close observation of adolescent primitive girls in Samoa. The author introduces us to the inner life of the young people of Samoa and amply brings out the truth that adolescence, in itself, is not necessarily a time of stress and strain but that cultural conditions make it so. As Dr. Franz Boas in his illuminating foreword observes, "the results of her painstaking investigation confirm the suspicions long held by anthropologists that much of what we ascribe to human nature is no more than a reaction to the restraints put upon us by our civilisation". The book is divided in fourteen chapters headed respectively: I. Introduction; II. A Day in Samoa; III. The Education of the Samoan Child; IV. The Samoan Household; V. The Girl and her Age Group; VI. The Girl in the Community; VII. Formal

Sex Relations; VIII. The Role of the Dance; IX. The Attitude towards Personality; X. The Experience and Individuality of the Average Girl; XI. The Girl in Conflict; XII. Maturity and Old Age; XIII. Our Educational Problems in the Light of Samoan Contrasts; XIV. Education for Choice. Five appendices and a Glossary of Native terms, complete the volume. The book is one of absorbing interest from cover to cover.

The Buddha's Golden Path. A Manual of of Practical Buddhism based on the Teachings and Practices of the Zen Sect, but interpreted and adapted to meet Modern Conditions.—By Dwight Goddard. (Lucas, 1930). PP. IX+210. Price 4 S. net.

In this excellent little book we have an illuminating account of the essentials of Buddhism and the practical steps of Buddha's "Golden Path" written by a European scholar who as a convert has had personal experience of the Inner Way of Enlightenment and Peace of Mind. That Way, as the author shows, leads through Restraint of Physical Desire to Emancipation,—through Right Mind Control to Enlightenment,—through Concentration of Spirit to Tranquilisation. As the author who went to the study and practice of Buddhism with an entirely open mind, very truly says "Buddhism is, first of all and last of all, an experience that each must interpret for himself, and to do so rightly one must start with a clear mind". And as the Path unfolded itself before him, it brought to

him enlightenment and an ever-clearing spiritual insight. As the author truly observes, Gantama was "a teacher of the wise way of living, for his emphasis was always on the wisdom aspect of life rather than on its external morality, because to him morality and sin were simply the wise and foolish ways of living". The author rightly points out Sin was little talked about by Gantama because he disbelieved in any personal God, or in any such thing as the soul as an entity having eternal life. What the Christian thinks of as sin that calls for judgment, Gautama thought of as ignorance and foolishness that needed enlightenment and sympathy. In attaining the wisest way of life Gautama warned his disciples against both ascetism and self-centred indulgence. His was the Middle Way, a path that led through wise restraint of desire, through thoughtfulness as to values and through concentration on the highest. The teaching of Gautama is far from being pessimistic; it starts to be sure from a discouraging view of external objective things, but his Path leads inward to the highest and best that the mind of man can conceive—final unity in Buddhahood".

Materials for the Study of Inheritance in Man.—By *Franz Boas* (*Columbia University Press* 1928). PP. VIII+540.

This volume contains a mass of anthropometrical data regarding families of immigrants living in New York and including Sicilians, Central Italians, Bohemians, Hungarians and Slovaks, Poles, Scotch

and Hebrews. The distinguished author's name is a guarantee of the accuracy of the materials; and the excellence of the arrangement is obvious. We look forward with eager anticipations to the promised discussion of the data from the points of view of growth and heredity in a subsequent volume.

Bella Bella Texts.—*By Franz Boas. (Columbia University Press. 1928). PP. IX+291.*

The series of tales contained in the present volume were collected in part in Rivers Inlet in 1897 and in part in 1923. Side by side with the texts are given accurate translations in English; and at the end of the volume is given a large vocabulary based partly upon the texts, and partly with the help of a full vocabulary of Kwakiutl stems. The last tale in the book is given with interlinear Kwakiutl translation. Dr. Boas' name is a guarantee for the accuracy of the translation. Of the last tale only Dr. Boas says, "Although on the whole the translation is accurate, there are a number of places in which the Kwakiutl informant misunderstood the Rivers Inlet words".

Social Life of the Navajo Indians, With Some Attention to Minor Ceremonies.—*By Gladys A. Reichard. (Columbia University Press, 1928). PP. VII+239.*

This is another of the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. The book contains a mine of illuminating information about the

social organization of the Navajo Indians besides brief accounts of customs relating to Birth, Adolescence, Marriage and Death, and a chapter on Folklore and Belief of the people. A large number of genealogies with explanations is given in the Appendix covering 78 pages. Anthropologists all over the world owe an immense debt of gratitude to the Columbia University for their very valuable contributions to Anthropology.

Australia and the British Commonwealth.—*By the Hon, J.G. Latham, K.C., M.A, LL.B.; (Macmillan, 1929) Pages IX + 149.*

All studies on "the most fascinating of subjects to students of constitutional history" are welcome; and the book, with its clear thinking, its reasoned statements, and above all, its practical suggestions, will dispel the clond that has settled over the idea of "Dominion status." The lecturer—for the book consists of the substance of 1928 Macrossor lectures delivered at the University of Queensland—has picked out the problems inherent in reconciling "function" with "Status,"—problems left by the Balfour Committee of 1923 to be solved by another conference. The author's discussions of the problems Viz, Disallowance and Reservation, Extra-territoriality, of Dominion legislation, the Colonial Land Validity Act, Merchant Shipping legislation etc, are illuminating and justify Ex-premier Bruce's description of it as "a valuable contribution." It will be interesting to students of constitutional history to turn from the pages of the book to the Report

of the conference on Dominion legislation and Merchant Shipping legislation, 1929. He views the problems from the standpoint of Australia and concludes:—"The present portion in the British commonwealth as a whole and in several of its component parts is the result of a balance of many opposing considerations. That balance cannot be easily upset because so many interests are concerned in preserving a balance even if the existing position is not satisfactory to them in particular aspects..... The problems belong to the sphere of practical statesmanship." This is conclusion which shows the practical statesman in the lawyer. He refrains from discussing the "academic" right of secession, because perhaps there is "no active feeling on the subject" in Australia, overshadowed as it is by the Pacific Question. On the other hand he lays much stress on the "bonds of the commonwealth," which differentiate the Dominions from independent states. Space forbids reference to many of the admirable discussions of the book. It will be of great help to students and laymen alike to properly evaluate the ideal of Dominion status as it stands today.

S. Sen.

The Sovereignty of the British Dominions.—*By Sir Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt (Macmillan, 1929). Pages XXVI+524. Price 18 S. net.*

There are not many books in the market for the students of present-day politics on the constitutional development of the Dominions in the British Empire. Of late, these Dominions have come to occupy

peculiar position in world-politics. No student of the modern movements of the world can neglect the study of the problems which face these Dominions and the problems which the Empire has to face in connection with these Dominions.

Both the theory and the practice of politics have problems to solve with regard to the relation between England and her Dominions. The extent of internal and external sovereignty which the Dominions possess—in varying degrees, no doubt—present is a topic of peculiar interest to all. The theorist would find many new avenues of study open to him. The problem of sovereignty, the controversy regarding the power of secession and several others—difficult and not less intricate, would naturally confront him with difficulties.

When every thing is vague and uncertain and and there is no definite and systematic treatment of the relations existing between the Dominions and England, and of the problem of sovereignty within the dominions, and, what is of more importance, when the world is looking with intense eagerness at the aspiration of a great nation to turn itself into a Dominion within the British Commonwealth, the appearance of a book like the one under review is most welcome. A perusal of the book will convince the reader that there could have been no other scholar better fitted than Sir Arthur Berriedale Keith who would have been able to tackle the subject so skilfully.

Sir Arthur begins his book with a nice introduction which traces, in brief, the steps in the couse of

development through which the dominions had to pass. Though all the facts recounted therein are well known to the serious student of the problems of present-day politics, one would find the treatment very systematic and interesting, that it would be found profitable to spend an hour over this chapter only.

Following the introductions, Sir Arthur divides the book into four parts. The first part is concerned with the development of internal sovereignty within the Dominions. The author takes every individual step in the course separately and gives to each a clear and lucid treatment. The problems of native races and of immigration from other countries have been carefully explained. The questions of trade and shipping and of defence have also been given important places in the book.

The second part explains the extent and limits of internal sovereignty within the Dominions. The important question regarding the power of secession has been exhaustively treated and the relation between the Imperial Legislature and the Dominion legislatures has been shown in their true light.

In the remaining two parts the development of external sovereignty and the extent and limits of this has been explained. The place allotted to the Dominions in the League of Nations has been brought under review and given a nice criticism.

To Indians, Sir Arthur's book provides a particularly interesting and opportune study. When there is an almost universal aspiration

in the minds of all Indians to find their country placed on a respectable footing, when Dominion status has been one of the catch-phrases of the day, travelling in every mouth, it is but proper that every one should get acquainted with the fundamental principles on which the constitutions of the Dominions rest, and with the exact relations between the Dominions and the Imperial government and between the Dominions and the other free units outside the "Commonwealth." The book is sure to prove very welcome to those who are interested in Dominion controversies.

B. Dutt.

English Government and Politics.—*By Fredrick Austin Ogg, Ph. D., (Macmillan, 1929). PP.X+783.*

This new book on the constitution of England written by Austin Ogg, ably deals with the British constitution as it stands the middle of the year 1929. Many books on the subject make occasional references to certain post-war developments but there is hardly any other book which deals with them in such a systematic manner. Such topics as the Coalition ministry, the three-party system, new legislations on municipal administration; on, reformation of the electoral system, changed relations between the Dominions, and the Mother Country and many other post-war problems have been dealt with very satisfactorily in this volume. The book by President Lowell which is held in some quarters to be the best work on the subject has the disadvantage of being out of date; even in the latest

edition of the book matters have not been brought up-to-date. Another special feature of the book is that it deals more with the substance of the constitution than with its forms. Many English writers on their constitution take great delight in emphasising the "unreal" character of the constitution; they deal at inordinate length with the form rather than the substance of parliamentary institutions. Even the otherwise excellent book of Mr. Bagehot is not above this fault. But the author of the present volume goes straight to the subject matter and deal with the real nature and working of a particular institution instead of dilating upon its theoretical character.

Many writers on the British constitution often forget that they are writing a book not on the constitutional history of Great Britain but on the constitution of Great Britain, but the present author appears to be always alive to the fact. He has not attempted to embarrass his readers by giving unnecessary historical details; he has laid greater emphasis on the actual working and problem of the constitution than on its historical evolution. It may be sometimes necessary to trace the evolution of a particular political institution in order to explain its real nature, but this policy does not always pay. Marriot's book on British Constitution suffers from this serious defect; he devotes so much space to trace the historical development of any institution that one's memory is burdened with unnecessary historical facts even before one comes to the real theme.

Along with describing the nature and working of Parliament he discusses the problem of Second Chamber reform, Electoral reform, Party organisation, minority representation and many other allied problems of modern government, and this has made the book all the more attractive. It has devoted a chapter on Imperial affairs, laying special emphasis on post-war developments. The treatment of Imperial affairs is rather short; some more space might profitably have been devoted to such an important topic. Still, it deals with all the necessary topics on the subject. It is more or less complete in itself. Much learning and careful study has been brought to bear on its preparation and the exposition is very lucid and clear. But one desideratum of the book is that it does not devote any separate chapter on the constitutions of the important British Dominions, e. g. Canada, Australia, South Africa, *etc.*, though occasional references are made to them throughout the book. It however deals with the constitution of the Irish Free State in a separate chapter. On the whole, the book is a very valuable contribution on the subject.

A. B. Chatterjee.

The Stone Age of India.—By O. T. Srinivasa Ayanagar (Madras, Govt. Press, 1926). PP. 55 (with 4 Plates) Price Rs. 1.

This is the Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar Lecture delivered on December 10, 1925. It gives in outline an account of Indian Pre-history in two chapters. In the first chapter, the author deals

with the Old Stone Age and the Origin of Man, Palæoliths, Beginnings of Hunting, Invention of Fire, Indian Nomads of the Palæolithic Age, their mode Disposal of the Dead, their Dress; their Art, their Religion; Antiquity of Man in India; Density of Population in the Palæolithic times in India. Chapter II. treats of the New Stone Age, Domestication of Animals, the Five Races of Neolithic India, Density of Neolithic Population, clearing of Forests, Neolithic Tools, Pottery, Occupations, Dress and Decoration, Classes of Population, Art, Disposal of the Dead, Intercourse with the Rest of the World, Language, the Myth of the Importation of South Indian Languages from Outside India; and the Birth of the Iron Age. The treatment of such a vast subject in such a small compass has made the book sketchy. Some of the theories promulgated by the author do not appear to be based on adequate data.

History of Pre-Musalman India. Volume I. Pre-Historic India.—By V. Rangacharya, M. A., (*Madras; Huxley Press. 1929*).

This well got-up and well-written book is the first in a promised series of nine volumes designed to deal with the history of India from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquest. The present volume deals with the Pre-Vedic and prehistoric epoch of the rise and growth of Indian culture, and is intended to serve as a background to the Vedic and post-Vedic periods of Indian History which the author promises to deal with in succeeding

volumes. The learned author has with great industry, scholarship and critical acumen, collated, correlated and systematised the mass of materials contributed by recent research-workers in anthropology, ethnology, folklore, and archæology, and presented us with as concrete and vivid a picture of Prehistoric India as can be formed in the present state of our knowledge. The author has wisely avoided the temptation to theorise in haste, as some other writers have done. With regard on the subject to a few of his inferences or suggestions, all scholars may not agree, and some of his surmises and conclusions may have to be modified or abandoned in time in the light of further researches, but, on the whole the book under review appears to us to be the most sober, scholarly and up-to-date book on the subject.

Notes and Queries on Anthropology.—*By a Committee of Section H of the British Association. (Royal Anthropological Institute, 1929). PP. XVI+404. Price 6 S. net.*

This is the fifth edition of a book which is invaluable to beginners in field-work in Anthropology. Students and field-workers in Anthropology will find this revised edition a great improvement on its predecessor. They will find in the present volume not only an illuminating guide for the collection of anthropological data but also a comprehensive text-book for beginners.

CORRECTION SLIP.

In the article on "*The Origin of Man and the Population of India in the Past and the Future*" published at pp. 10-57 of the last number of this Journal, several misprints unfortunately occurred, and we take this earliest opportunity of supplying the following list of errata for that article :—

Page 43	line 21	for	Vitamina	read	Vitamine
" 46	" 18	"	whlch	"	which
" 47	" 3	"	vertebrte	"	vertebrate
" 53	" 12	"	bssed	"	based
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" 61	" 12	"	tour	"	our
" 66	" 3	"	medecine	"	medicine
" 69	" 29	"	Historieal	"	Historical
" 72	" 4	"	Buddism	"	Buddhism
" 74	" 11	"	matarial	"	material
" 77	" 4	"	sceintific	"	scientific
" 78	" 6	"	was	"	owes
" 78	" 11	"	shin	"	skin
" 79	" 8	"	impressian	"	impression
" 81	" 4	"	features	"	gestures
" 81	" 13	"	cevilized	"	civilized
" 81	" 21	"	which considers	read	which he considers
" 82	" 12	"	Engenics	"	Eugenics
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1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—*Twelve Rupees.*

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :— "In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :— "I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The

book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

The Nature (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

The Discovery. (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the Oraon social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

The Statesman (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

The Forward (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works—*The Birhors*, *The Mundas* and the *Oraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

The Modern Review (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *the Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on "*the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

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MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. X. } DECEMBER, 1930. { No. 4.

I. HEAD HUNTING. *

By

J. H. HUTTON, M. A., D. SC., C. I. E., I. C. S.

The practice of head-hunting, although no doubt due partly to psychological causes arising from that acquisitive instinct which has played such an important part in the civilization of man, arises from more than a mere desire for a trophy. The principle underlying it is a belief in the existence of a more or less material soul matter on which all life depends. In the case of human beings this soul matter, often apparently, in diminutive human form, is located particularly in the head. In abstracting a head the soul within is captured and thus added to the general stock of soul matter belonging to the community and so contributes to the fertility of the human population, the cattle and the crops, for the soul is conceived of, according to the Karens of Burma at any rate, as a sort of pupa, filled with a vaporous substance, which bursts, when its contents spread

* Reproduced, with slight alterations by the author, from the 14th Edition (1929) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

over and fertilize the fields, passing again through the grain or herb eaten into the bodies of men or animals and so again into the seminal fluid enabling men and animals to propagate life. It is not suggested that precisely the same formula can be postulated of all head-hunters, but there is much to indicate that head-hunting generally is based on a similar belief in a cycle of life dependent on the possession of soul.

Head-hunting is therefore associated with ideas regarding the sanctity of the head as the seat of the soul and with some forms of cannibalism where the intention is to consume the body or part of the body in order to transfer to the eater the soul matter of the eaten. It is also connected with phallic and other fertility cults intended to imbue the soil with productivity, and it is obvious that it may thus develop into human sacrifice, a practice which has been generally associated with agriculture. It is not surprising, therefore, that head-hunting, or at any rate some practice closely allied to it, is to be found sporadically all over the globe either actually existing or in some degenerate survival.

In Europe the actual survival of the practice is probably limited to the Balkan peninsula, where the taking of the head affects the future life of the soul in some way that is no longer quite clear, but no doubt implied the transfer of the soul matter of the decapitated to the decapitator. Here the complete head was taken by Montenegrins at any rate as lately as 1912, the head being carried by the lock of hair worn apparently

for that purpose. In the Balkan War of 1912-13 nose-taking was substituted and it was the practice to cut off the nose and upper lip with the moustache by which it was carried instead of the whole head, just as in Kafirstan and in Assam an ear is sometimes carried off instead of the whole head. In the British Isles the practice continued approximately to the end of the Middle Ages in Ireland and the Scottish marches, and it is noteworthy that in the case of Ireland Strabo accused us of honouring our dead relatives by eating their corpses, while a Martinmas pig is still killed that the fields may be sprinkled with blood and so rendered fertile. In some parts of the continent murderers have been known to eat part of their victims to secure themselves against ill-will on the part of the ghost. The underlying idea is, no doubt, that the consumption of the flesh leads to spiritual identity.

In Africa the principle involved has shown itself rather in the form of human sacrifice than of true head-hunting, Dahomey and Ashanti being notorious examples; but even here the fact that the human sacrifices in Dahomey made the rain-magic more efficacious suggests the working of the same ideas, while we hear of a Matabele chief who anointed his body with human fat and fertilized his fields with the same. So too the eating of an enemy's heart has been reported from Dahomey and Whydah, and the use of skulls as drinking cups from the Guinea coast. *Bona-fide* head-hunting occurs in Nigeria, where there are a number of usages strongly suggestive

of Indonesian culture. As in Indonesia, head-hunting among the Kagoro, and perhaps other tribes in Nigeria, is associated with the fertility of the crops and with marriage and with the service by the victim of the taker of his head in the next world.

In Asia, Herodotus mentions head-hunters and there is a bas-relief from Nineveh in the British Museum representing a battle in the VIIth century B. C. between Assurbanipal and the king of Elam in which the Assyrians are depicted as cutting and carrying off the heads of the slain. In Kafiristan on the north-west frontier of India head-hunting was practised at any rate until a very recent date, wheat being showered by the women upon men returning with heads from a successful raid. In the north-east of India, Assam is famous for head-hunting, all the hill tribes living south of the Brahmaputra—Garos, Khasis, Nagas and Kukis, having been head-hunters in the past, and many of the Naga tribes still affording an invaluable example of the extant practice of that decaying cult.

Head-hunting in Assam is normally carried on by parties of raiders who depend on surprise tactics almost entirely. The heads, and sometimes also the hands and feet or even the whole limbs, are cut off and carried home to the village where the head is usually placed on a stone or pile of stones kept for that purpose. The practice of cutting off the limbs has possibly a different origin, as there are tribes north of the Brahmaputra who do not take heads, but do cut off the feet and

hands of slain enemies, presumably with a view to incapacitating the ghost. The skull is subsequently variously treated. After its virtue has passed into the stone on which it is laid, it is either buried face downwards, as by the Angami tribe, hung up in a tree, as by Semas and Lhotas, or hung in the Chief's house or the Bachelors' Hall. In the latter case it is by some tribes decorated with a pair of buffalo horns, probably as a fertility symbol, and with long tassels of a broad-bladed grass which rustle pleasantly when the skull is swung by a dancer at a feast. In the case of several participants in a raid who are all in at the death, the head is often divided on a fixed system, certain definite portions going to the first, second and third spears etc. The insignia and, where tattooing is practised, the tattoo patterns worn by the successful warrior have specific reference to success in head-hunting. Thus the Angami warrior wears one hornbill feather for each success—"touching meat" as it is called, while the Konyak warrior has his neck tattooed only if he has actually performed the act of decapitation in person, though he may tattoo his chest for "touching meat" and his face for the act of killing the enemy in person. With the Naga, the genuine head-hunter, a head must have cut its teeth to count, though a female head is at least as good as a male, but with the Kuki, whose cult is probably mixed and whose desire for heads is merely to supply a dead relative with servitors in another world, any head, even that of an embryo, is good, and the same applies to the Kagoro and Moroa

tribes of west Africa, who like the Kuki of Assam and the Kayans of Borneo desire slaves in the next world rather than soul matter in this. The Naga never takes the head of a fellow-villager even though clan feuds within the village are very bitter and lead to much bloodshed, and even outside the village heads are not as a rule taken between men of the same or nearly related clans, a self-denying ordinance shared with the Kagoro. The younger women are everywhere great instigators of head-hunting, and refuse to marry men who have not "touched meat" probably with the idea that until they have taken life they are unlikely to beget offspring.

In Burma several tribes follow or have followed similar customs, though the Wa tribe observe a definite head-hunting season when the fertilizing soul matter is required for the growing crop and all wayfarers move about at their peril. In Borneo, Indonesia generally, the Philippines and Formosa, similar methods of head-hunting obtain, and the hill tribes of Malaya and Indo-China generally probably are or have been head-hunters at some period. The Ibans of Borneo are particularly enthusiastic in this respect. The practice was reported of the Philippines by Martin de Rada in 1577 and has barely disappeared among the Igorot and Tagalog of Luzon, while in Formosa it no doubt prevails among such of the hill tribes, if any, as have not been subdued by the Japanese. Elsewhere in Indonesia it extended through Ceram where the Alfurs were, or are, head-hunters, to

New Guinea, where the Motu, like the Lhota Naga of Assam, wears a hornbill's head as the insignia of his achievement; here and there as in the Battak country and in Timorlat it seems to be replaced by cannibalism.

In New Guinea and thence throughout Oceania head-hunting prevailed till comparatively recently and possibly still occurs in the Solomon Islands. In the Solomon Islands the actual expedition to obtain a head formed the climax in a series of ceremonial acts extending over a number of years, and the suppression of head-hunting, on which depended an important part of the social life, has been judged a very serious factor in the decay of society and decrease of population which have followed British administration. Throughout Oceania head-hunting is closely associated with cannibalism and the latter institution has tended to obscure the former, but in many islands the importance attached to the head is unmistakable. In parts of Micronesia the head of a slain enemy was paraded about with dancing which served as an excuse for raising a fee for the chief to defray public expenditure, after which the head would be lent to another for the same purpose. In Melanesia the head is often mummified and preserved, and sometimes, as in New Britain, seems to be worn as a mask in order that the wearer may acquire the soul of the dead man. Even in Australia the underlying principle seems active, as it is reported that the Australian believes that the spirit of a slain enemy enters the slayer. In New Zealand the heads of

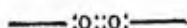
the foe were dried and preserved so that the tattoo marks, and often the actual features, were recognisable; this practice led to one unfortunate development of head-hunting in that tattooed heads become desirable curios and the demand of Europe for Maori trophies caused "pickled heads" to become a regular article of trade.

For the New World we find it the general practice in North America to take the scalp rather than the head, the idea, probably being that the soul is located in the hair, an idea present in the biblical story of Samson and common in Malaya and Indonesia, where Nagas and Borneans use the hair of their dead enemies for ornament as did the Red Indians, in Oceania where the Marquesans use the hair of the victims of their cannibal rites for making arm rings and necklets of magic virtue, and frequent in south America where the heads are often preserved, as by the Jivaro, by removing the skull and packing the skin with hot sand, thus shrinking it to the size of the head of a small monkey while preserving the features intact as a vivid portrait in caricature. Here, again, head-hunting is probably associated with cannibalism in a ceremonial form, and the heads of certain animals are also treated similarly.

Head-hunting therefore is world-wide. It is associated with tribes still living in the stone age, and probably dates from neolithic times in Europe. It may even go back to palaeolithic times, as in the Azilian deposits at Ofnet in Bavaria heads

were found carefully decapitated and buried separately from the bodies, indicating beliefs in the special sanctity or importance of the head.

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II. A STUDY ON HUMAN ORNAMENTATION.

By

RAJ RAJ MOOKERJI, *M. Sc.*

The idea of ornamentation is primitive, and it is also a primary conception of man. It was from Dame Nature that man had this idea first suggested to him, and hence ornamentation is one of the primary influences and enduring effects of natural environments on man.

Evolution of
ornaments.

The primitive men, (not of course the very first human ancestors *) in their woodland home, being impressed with the beauties of Nature, both of the flora and of the fauna, began to decorate themselves with flowers and leaves and by painting their bodies with various designs imitated from Nature. Gradually they learned to make for themselves such primitive ornaments as garlands and crowns, and bracelets and anklets—all made of flowers and leaves. The crested bird such as the cock and the peacock and the lapwing taught them to adorn their heads with floral chaplets and tufts of fine feather,—the striped or the spotted animals such as the tiger and the zebra and the pard, and the variegated birds and insects such as the pic and the woodpecker and the butterfly were their first instructors in the act of tatooing.

* Reasons for this exclusion are stated afterwards.

Besides the influences of Nature, the elementary aesthetic sense of man as well as his wish for admiration also played an important part in the matter of decoration. The views of Herbert Spencer as expressed in the following statements illumine these points: "It has been truly re-remarked that in order of time, *decoration precedes dress*. Among people who submit to great physical suffering that they may have themselves handsomely tattooed, extremes of temperature are borne with but little attempt at mitigation....An Orinoco Indian, though quite regardless of bodily comfort, will yet labour for a fortnight to purchase pigment wherewith to make himself *admired*; and that the same woman who would not hesitate to leave her hut without a fragment of clothing on, would not dare to commit such a breach of decorum as to go out unpainted. Voyagers find that coloured beads and trinkets are much more prized by wild tribes than are calicoes and broadcloths....These show how completely *the idea of ornament predominates over that of use*.....Indeed, the facts of aboriginal life seem to indicate that *dress is developed out of decorations*".¹ The Italics are mine.

"The dress, like the badge, is at first worn from the *wish for admiration*.....The causes which have originated, developed and specialized badges and dresses, have done the like with ornaments.....The rudimentary aesthetic sense which leads the savage to paint his body, has doubtless a share in prompt-

¹ Spencer, H.—*Education*, pp. 1-2, (1911).

ing the use of attractive objects for ornaments" ². (Italics are mine). Again to quote from another authority, Hermann Klaatsch, "The study of the living savages proves that ornamentation is older than clothing" ³ (The Italics are mine).

From the primitive floral ornaments are gradually developed the ornaments of metals and precious stones and corals as men came to know the existence and the utility of these things. Many of the ornaments of later times are of the pattern taken from natural objects such as flowers and stars and the crescent moon, cabbage leaves and bamboo stems, bees and butterflies, the fish and the snake, and the mouth of the shark and of the tiger etc.

It is very interesting to note here in this connection that, even to the present day, a very ancient and perhaps a most primitive custom holds on in the Hindu society. The first night after marriage that the bride shares the bed of her husband—a function which is known as "*Fula-Sayya*" or "*Floral-Bed*", she is bedecked with all sorts of flower ornaments from head to foot before she meets the groom. This is not a fashion but a custom observed from time immemorial by all sects among the Hindus, rich and poor, and in as decent a manner as their purse permits.

Again, perhaps out of the ancient practice of tatooing are evolved, especially among the Hindus, the

² Spencer, H.—*Principles of Sociology*, in *Epitome of Synthetic Philosophy*, pp. 441-42, (1897).

³ Klaatsch, H.—*Evolution and Progress of Mankind*. p. 164, (1923).

very refined and highly aesthetic decoration by painting and anointing the face and other parts of the body with sandalwood paste of white, red and yellow variety, as also, among the women, the adornment by vermilion and lac-dye.

Nothing can be definitely said as regards the antiquity of ornaments. Leaving aside the Eolithic

Antiquity of ornaments.

we are not yet in a position to say whether the men of the lower

Palæolithic period used anything as ornaments. But in the upper Palæolithic and Neolithic ages we get evidence of its existence. In the upper Palæolithic period several perforated canine teeth of animals, human molars and perforated shells have been found. A necklace composed of canines of stag, fish vertebrae and shells has also been found in association with the skeleton of a youngman in one of the Grimaldi Caves in Italy. * Among the remains of Neolithic industry in the burial places and "lake-villages" we find any number of amulets and beads of necklaces. In the Neolithic and Eneolithic graves in Egypt necklaces of beads and shells, pedants, bracelets of ivory, alabaster, mother-of-pearls and even of flints beautifully chipped are abundantly met with. Egypt, perhaps one of the most ancient culture-stations in the world, had, according to Montelius, begun her Neolithic culture some 20,000 years B. C.; next to Egypt comes Asia, its corresponding date being 14,000 B. C. as ascertained by Boule.

* McCurdy, G. G.,—*Human Origin*, I, (1924).

The antiquity of ornaments in India is no less interesting, but unfortunately very little is known and reported so far, as no systematic work in the subject has been done in India in comparison with such works in other countries until very recently, and it is not possible nor wise to frame a conclusion out of the scattered and fragmentary materials at our disposal. To arrive at a definite point regarding the antiquity of ornaments in India there are two possible ways of approaching the subject: First, a study of the archæological finds, paintings and engravings; secondly, a search in the ancient literature of India.

The ancient paintings of India so far recorded are represented by the arts of Ajanta, Bagh, Sigiriya in Ceylon and of Raigar Hill in the Central Provinces. But the paintings that have direct bearing on our subject-matter are perhaps almost limited to Ajanta. The paintings of human figures which are beautifully bedecked with various ornaments in a perfectly Oriental style on the walls of the Ajanta caves depict, for the most part, themes of the Buddhist legend. The exact date of these paintings is difficult to assign, for, the chronology of Buddhism cannot be considered settled. But the period of execution of these is supposed to have extended from the 2nd century B. C. to the 7th century A. D. ⁵ Till now the art of Ajanta claims to be the most ancient of its kind in India.

⁵ Griffiths, J.—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta*, (1896).

Our knowledge of the Stone Ages in India is very poor and for the first time we find traces of ornaments in the Chalcolithic period. Along with the human remains excavated at Nal, in Baluchistan, and belonging to the 'Chalcolithic or Copper Age' a bone pin has been found which is described as an ornament by Sewell and Guha. ⁶ It is a broken specimen, some of its portions being missing. It is about 10-12 inches long.

The recent excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have revealed the extensive Chalcolithic culture in India in an astonishing phase. Here we find an instance of the abundant use of ornaments of various materials. Shells, and beads of various shapes and sizes of cornelian, jadite, ivory, gold, silver, variegated stones and fience were in use for ornaments such as necklaces, girdles and bracelets. Here we also get a clear evidence of the use of ivory combs and copper tubes and the plugs of soft stones as nose * and ear ornaments.

* Sewell, R. B. S., & Guha, B. S.—*Report on the bones excavated at Nal.* (1929).

* In Hindu India the nose ornament appeared after the Mogul invasions and from the 13th Century downwards since the reign of Jahangir, we find abundant use of nose ornament among the Hindus as has recently been pointed out by K. N. Chatterji, (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 287-296, 1927). He further opines that the use of the nose ornament among the Hindus, is an instance of culture-contact and that they borrowed it from the Moguls. In this connection we may also refer to the remarks made by N. B. Divatia, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 67-70, (1923), as in the following lines: "We find no mention of the nose-ring in Sanskrit literature, lexicons included. It can be safely asserted that this ornament is unknown to Sanskrit literature or ancient Indian civilization.... It seems that the nose-ring was thus originally an importation to India from the Moslem countries."

A silver bracelet has been found from Gwadar in Baluchistan and a few circular silver discs apparently used as ornaments are also reported to have been found in Gungeria in the Central Provinces. ⁷ Both the sites undoubtedly belong to the Copper Age in India.

A study of the ancient Sanskrit literature show that, even in the remotest *Rigvedic* age, people used various ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones, and also of pearls most certainly in the later *Upanishad* period. Now, the *Rigveda* is held to be the most ancient and the first book in the Aryan world by almost all the Sanskrit scholars of eminence—both European and Indian. According to Max Müller and his school the hymns of the *Rigveda* were composed between 1200 and 2000 B. C. ⁸ R. C. Dutta in his 'Ancient India' mainly relying on the statements of some Western scholars roughly gives this date as between 1400 B. C. and 2000 B. C. Umesh Chandra Batabyal, in his 'Veda Prabeshika', from a partly original calculation, puts the date of this composition as from 1500 B. C. (a date given by Colebrooke) to about a century earlier.

Tilak, ⁹ on the other hand, supported by Buhler ¹⁰ pushes the date back to about 4500 B. C., and Count Jena ¹¹ "to a much earlier date"

⁷ Dechelette—*Manuel d'Archéologie, Age du Bronze*, p. 66.

⁸ Max Muller—(1) *Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859).

(2) *Origin of Religions* (1878).

(3) *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (1899).

⁹ Tilak—*Orion*, pp. 206-208.

¹⁰ Buhler—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 238-249 (1894).

¹¹ Count Jena—*Theogony of the Hindus*, p. 134.

than 6000 B. C. But the actual date of the *Rigveda* seems to be still more earlier. * If the *Rigvedic* culture is to be relied on, then on the strength of that culture-evidence we can say that the use of ornaments was known in India during and even before the *Vedic Age*. Furthermore, though we have at present little archæological evidence, still it will not be improper to state that ornaments were used in Neolithic India, the date of which seems to be 14000 B. C. as pointed out by Mitra. ¹²

The use of ornaments is universal. There is practically speaking, no man that does not use some sort of ornament or things of decoration. In fact, every nation and every tribe has its own way of ornamentation. Even among the Eskimos who reside amid the eternal snows of the Arctic zone and where seal-skin dress necessarily covers the body entirely, we find the use of ornaments in the form of buttons to decorate their lips and ears. It is also very curious that they practise even tatooing, judging from the extremely cold

* Max Muller, in his *Origin of Religions* puts this date as 1000-X B. C., and says: "How far back that period (the Mantra period, 800-1000 B. C.), the so-called Khandas period, extended who can tell?" (pp. 156-57). Again in the *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, apparently in despair of indication he states: "It may be very brave to postulate 2000 B. C. or even 5000 B. C. as a minimum date for the vedic hymns.....Whatever may be the date of the vedic hymns, whether 1500 or 15000 B. C. they have their own unique place and stand by themselves in the literature of the world". (pp. 45-46).

¹² Mitra, P. — *Prehistoric India* (Second Edition) p. 457.

region in which they live and where tatooing seems to be quite unnatural. *

"The love for ornaments is so deep that many races spend greater part of their thought and labour on the adornment of their bodies. The poorest Bushman makes an arm-ring out of a strip of hide and never forgets to wear it, though it may well happen that his leather apron is in a scandalously tattered state". The Juang girls are practically without any clothing, but they must have their necklaces and ear ornaments. All this seems to suggest that man in the lower culture and with his small means will have comparatively much more luxury than one in a higher stage and with a much larger income. One effect of this tendency to luxury is the confinement of trade to the 'natural races' within a narrow range of a small list of articles most of which are entirely for the purpose of ornamentation or pastime and sensual enjoyment. The objects exchanged, things of value and taste, are primarily articles of luxury. Leaving aside the partly civilized people, all the primitive tribes buy from the traders various kinds of beads, brass and iron wares, corals, shells and many other objects solely for the decoration of the body.

Indeed, ornamentation holds such a supreme place in human mind that some ethnologists have declared it impossible to decide where clothing ends and ornament begins. All clothings seem to

* The practice of tatooing among the Eskimos has led some authorities to suggest that this indicates that the Eskimos formerly dwelt in a warmer country.

them to 'have proceeded by the way of modification from ornament and they hold that modesty played no part in the earliest evolution of dress'.

The above facts show that the delight in ornaments preponderates over the sense of decency. The so-called *Mekhala* of the Indian ladies and the girdle or the belt of their European sisters worn round the waist and hanging down like a festoon or Cupid's bow, and put on apparently with no other intention but that of decoration, certainly play a considerable part in the psycho-sexual life. The finely netted veil for the face popularly called 'the fly-catcher' that was till the nineteenth century a first-rate fashion among the high-born ladies of Europe was intended not to protect the face from troubles from the actual flies, but to attract the eyes of human flies, and so to feed the psycho-sexual pleasure of the fair wearer of it.

To be decorated means to be an object of attraction—to be "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes", and to draw attention of others to particular parts of the body. The pleasure that is experienced from drawing attention of others is purely psycho-sexual in nature and upon this psycho-sexual pleasure the grand development of ornament and clothing mainly rests. But, along with the progress of civilization and culture things have changed, and it would be a great mistake to think that the present-day purpose of ornamentation is nothing but the sole gratification of that pleasure, though its underlying existence cannot be altogether ignored.

Besides the decorative value, ornaments have different significances in society. Among the

Different uses
and variety of or-
naments.

'natural races' no one goes without ornament. The problem of the universal distribution of ornament seems easier when we consider it from the view-point of aims. In the first place amulets and talismans which are hardly ever missing in the list of ornaments, and which represent, perhaps, the earliest forms of their kind—have assumed the character of decoration, though primarily they were solely used as prophylactic or defensive implements.

Hiederbrandt in his admirable works on Wakamba says that amulets in a treatise of Ethnography deserve a place between weapons and ornaments. They, however, have more affinity with the latter. Similarly, among the Abor, we find a peculiar kind of bracelets ¹³ worn by the women that are made of zinc and provided with vertical spikes. These are meant not only for ornaments but also for weapons of defence. Nagas, for the same double purpose use massive wooden and ivory bangles ¹⁴ on ceremonial occasions. These bangles, in their society, also indicate rank. Likewise, we find similar bangles in use in the Madras Presidency. Negroes use massive iron arm-rings which are adapted for the purpose of both parrying and striking and in this respect these are not very unlike the "*Knuckle-dusters* of London Slums".

¹³ *Guide to the Ethnographic Gallery, Indian Museum, No.*

Abor, 44.

¹⁴ " " " " " " " " " " " "

No. Naga, 196, 197, 198.

The savage warriors can no longer do without ornaments any more than without weapons. We know how the aboriginal tribes bedeck themselves with various ornaments in their war dresses. This sort of decoration is also met with among the civilized warriors as well. It is interesting to note that ornamentation has such stimulating influence upon the mind that it has got its foot-hold even in the present-day military system. Further, if we observe minutely, it is noticed that decoration and distinction go hand in hand. In every primitive community the chief dresses and bedecks himself quite differently from and more beautifully than the other members of his clan. The Naga chief furnishes a good example of this. He wears arms and leg-guards and caps made of interwoven canes and bamboo strips, beautifully decorated with coloured feathers and polished brass plates. His breast-plate is also nicely decorated with rows of *cowri* shells—and human skulls representing and corresponding to the actual number of heads he has taken. * Thus his war-dress indicates at once his ornamentation, distinction and wealth. Even in modern civilized society the example of the said aspect of ornaments is not wanting. A lady who has plenty of valuable and fashionable ornaments on her body is more honoured and warmly received in a social gathering than one with ordinary sorts of ornaments.

* Nagas represent one of the head-hunting tribes in India. Recently the Government has stopped this inhuman practice, though they still do it secretly and instead of wearing the actual skulls, they, now-a-days wear wooden human heads.

Beliefs, customs and uses relating to certain ornaments in Hindu India indicate that, besides decorative, there is a *magico-religious* aspect of human ornamentation. There are some articles in the shape of ornaments and made of iron, copper or other metals, for example, amulets and rings, that are used in the belief that they have talismanic properties for curing many a disease and removing evils and scaring away devils.

Among the Hindus, the unfortunate mother who loses everytime her newborn babe—pierces the right side of the infant's nose and inserts a thin iron (sometimes golden) ring, believing this will save her child from the influence of the particular evil spirit killing her babes. When the child grows up and if it is a son, the nose ring is removed and he is made to wear an iron anklet on the right leg. This ring or the anklet continues to remain in its place until he or she is married when it is taken off in the belief that after marriage the evil spirit can no longer do any harm to the individual. Again, every newborn child is always provided with a thin iron bangle and a dot of lamp-black on its forehead that are supposed to counteract the influences of a bad spirit, or of the evil glance of a suspected witch.

A mad man is sometimes provided with a particular kind of iron bangle, called *Pagla-Kalir-Bala* that is believed to be impregnated with the divine potency of an image of the goddess Kali, and that cures him of his madness. Again,

the iron bangle that every Sikh wears round his wrist serves for a religious emblem. Hindu priests and sometimes laymen as well use a ring of gold and often two others of silver and copper to sanctify the body and for other purposes according to religious injunctions. In daily *Pujas* and in performing many religious rites such as *homa*, *srad* and other *yanjnas*, the performers must have rings of *Kusha* grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*) on the two ring-fingers. A female worshipper who is not a widow is to use in these cases rings made of *Durba* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) instead of *Kusha*.

Every Vaishnava wears a sort of tight necklace (*Kant̐thi*) made of beads from the stem of the *Tulsi* plant (*Ocimum* sp.) held sacred among the Hindus, and this string, apart from the sanctification of the body stands for the particular sectarian mark like the holy-thread of the Brāhmans. Sadhus and Sannyasins according, to religious injunctions, use garlands and bangles of *Rudraksha* (stones of *Elæocarpus ganitrus*). Among the different sects of Hindu worshippers including Vaishnavas, Tantrics and Sannyasins, the forehead is decorated with distinctive delineations (*Tilaka*) of various designs by means of the sandal wood paste, the vermilion and ashes. For the holy practice of *Japa* (repetition of the sacred name or *mantra* of a deity) Hindus make use of rosaries of *Tulsi*, *Rudraksha* and *Sphatika* (rock crystal), of pearls and corals and jewels and also those of gold beads and seeds of the lotus. Rosaries are also in use among the Roman Catholics and certain sects of Islam. All these facts clearly

show the religious aspects of ornaments and decorations.

Again, to keep oneself free from the bad influences of planets, ornaments of various metals in the form of rings, bangles and amulets as also different kinds of stones enjoined by astrologers to wear, are much in use, especially among the Hindus. Further, to immune the body from certain diseases the use of metal is not very uncommon. In India, children are often seen wearing copper coins in a string round their waist, for folklore has it, and quite correctly as we know now-a-days, that copper is a great preventive of cholera.

Next, some objects which are essential in everyday life of man have, in course of time, become things of decoration, and thus in one sense "the useful" has become "beautiful". The comb furnishes a good example of it. Over and above its usual use, the comb has now assumed the dignity of an ornament among civilized as well as uncivilized people. The use of comb among the *Orāons* and *Santals* and a few other tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, deserves a special mention. Unlike the civilized, the male folk besides the women of these communities use the comb as an ornament. They, not very unlike the modern fashion of *shingling*, keep long hair, like most of the aboriginal tribes, and use a thin iron belt or clip, about quarter of an inch in breadth, passing round the temporal and occipital regions, and the two free ends of it, fashioned like

arrow heads, rest on the frontal tuberosities. They call it *Patli* and use it to keep in right position their flowing hair which they part along the median line. Combs used by them are country made and rectangular in shape, the usual size being about 4" x 3", and have teeth on either side. They insert it usually on the left side of the head, just above and slightly posterior to the ear. The females, when going out, seldom show up their comb on the head. They keep it hidden under the bunch of hair tied up behind their head. The constant keeping of combs on the head, suggests that they are very particular about cleaning and dressing their hair. Remembering that most of the hill and jungle tribes are notorious for their dirtiness, it is curious that they should have a very keen sense of cleanliness which is confined particularly to the head and hair. All this apparently suggests that the use of comb among these peoples in the particular ways spoken of is now more for fashion or decoration. The use of comb is also prevalent in Polynesia, Africa and Australia. It is perhaps universal in use.

The modification of the useful things into things of decoration may be illustrated further from such articles as hairpins, safety-pins and brooches. We notice the existence of brooches in the Bronze Age industry. "In Egypt as in Elam, the fibular does not seem to have been generally used even in historic times. It is never found in pre-Pharaonic or proto-Elamite tombs. In the eastern

Medeterranian world, it would seem to have made its appearance at the same time as the *Pepols*. This ornament appears only towards the end of the Mycenæan period".¹⁵

Among the Hindus in particular, golden ornaments and precious stones are not worn on limbs below the waist * which are Ranks and some held inferior (*Adhamānga*) in position; for, it is believed that gems and gold sacred to Lakshmi, the goddess of goodluck and wealth, if dishonoured in that way, bring misery and misfortune. Hence, if by accident a Hindu lady happen to touch any such ornament by foot, she instantly takes it up and places it on her head by way of bowing. For the lower part of the body silver ornaments are in use.

As regards the rank of ornaments, jewels outshining others in beauty and costliest in value occupy the first place. Next to these and forming the larger bulk of ornaments come those of gold. Silver ornaments, much lesser in beauty and cost, hold the third place. No ornament of iron is in use among the Hindus except a thin bangle made of this metal, colloquially called *noā*, and worn chiefly by Bengali married women, according to custom, on their left hand* as long as their husbands are alive. *Shankhas* or bracelets made of conch shell and held lucky are also worn by

¹⁵ Morgan—J. de., *Prehistoric Man* P. 179, (1924)

* Burmese ladies seem to be the only exception, who use golden anklets.

* The left side of a woman is, by Hindu tradition, held to be superior to the right, and for the male the right one.

Hindu ladies. Widows of the Hindu society do not use any ornament. A Hindu widow as soon as her husband's cremation is over takes off her ornaments for good. The rich and the upper classes use gems and gold and the poor and lower classes use mostly silver ornaments and sometimes those of brass and zinc polished or gilded.* Lastly ornaments have a special utility in society. They are means of exchange in the matter of lending and borrowing. They form also a sort of reserve fund for an individual and a family and have the advantage of easy portability.

Next, we pass on to the custom of painting and tatooing. It is held that the combination of

Tatooing and
Painting.

two kinds—scars and painting—led to tatooing in which the colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds.

Tatooing has a very wide distribution. The practice is very extensive among the Polynesians and is found in an extreme form among the Maoris of New Zealand. Generally speaking, women practise tatooing much less than men.

A study of the different practices in connection with painting and tatooing shews that in the majority of cases they represent the artistic desire for ornamentation among the savage. But besides its decorative value tatooing serves as a tribal or family mark in some primitive communities. In Africa and among a few tribes of Guiana and

* In consideration of ranks of ornaments, it is a very significant fact that of all the deities of Hindu mythology *Alakshmi*, the goddess of misery is, as found in the ritual description of her image, adorned with iron ornaments.

Vaneuzula in South America we find this practice serving as tribal marks. * It also, in some cases, indicates the victorious campaigns. For example, in the society of Malayas none but the successful head-hunters can claim to be tatooed. Among the New Guinea peoples and Solomon Islanders tatooing has a distinctive use in relation to the womankind. In New Guinea a woman on the occasion of her marriage is, as a rule, first deprived of all her hair and ornaments, and then as a sign to indicate that she is married her face is tatooed. Young unmarried girls are tatooed all over the body *excepting the face*. In Solomon Islands, —a girl is not sought in marriage until her charms have been enhanced by tatcoing, and all the friends of the girl who subscribe towards the expense of the tatooing by a specialist called *tindalo*, are given a feast to repay them in this way by the parents of the girl. Tatooing sometimes announces a boy's arrival at manhood. Again, tatooing is also used as a sign of mourning as is noticed among some of the African tribes like the Tibooks and Shilooks.

The custom of painting the body with red, black and white cosmetics was extensively prevalent in olden days, as is partly indicated by the discovery of these cosmetics in the ancient Egyptian tombs and catacombs. Among the Australians, Tasmanians (now extinct) and the Andamanese the practice of painting the body with red, black and white is

- In India there is a custom prevalent among the followers of Ramanuja of branding their arms or breasts with a particular piece of hot stone or coin, serving as their sectarian mark.

very much current. To denote the loss of kindred the Australians and the Andamanese paint their body and head with white clay.

In civilized Hindu India we find the very refined and highly aesthetic decoration, already referred to, by painting and anointing the body with sandal wood paste of different colours and among the women especially the adornment by vermilion and lac-dye. Hindu ladies especially the Bengalis, excepting the widows, paint with lac-dye the edges of their feet and sometimes their palms and the lower lip, to heighten their beauty and so to make themselves all the more attractive. They sometimes use specks of vermilion on the forehead, and decorate with this red powder the anteriormost portion of the hair-parting line (*simanta*). In Hindu society both the bride and the bridegroom have, on the bridal day, their faces decorated with artistic designs of sandal wood paste. Hindu maidens and wives also adorn their forehead with small discs called *tipa*, cut out from the shining shard of some bright green insects killed for the purpose. Indian women, especially in the upcountry, beautify the lower edges of their eyelids by means of a stibium cosmetic (*kajal*) or collyrium (*soorma*). The so-called "beauty-spot", a patch of black silk or plaster worn on the face by European ladies in the 17th and 18th centuries especially, to show off the complexion is also an instance in point.

In South India, throughout the Madras Presidency among the civilized and partly civilized

Dravidians, there is a wide-spread custom of anointing and besmearing the whole body and face with turmeric paste. In the Mahomedan community we also notice that many men dye their beards and moustaches with saffron, and the women now and then adorn their feet, the palms and the finger nails with red brown colour produced from the juice of the leaves of a particular shrub called *Mehdi* or henna (*Lawsonia alba*). The modern use of powder, rouge and cosmetics is nothing but the continuance in a very refined form of the old custom of painting the body.

It is interesting to note that no such custom as painting the body with different colours do we find among the aboriginal tribes of India, nor the practice of tatooing seems to be a general custom among them. The practice of tatooing is gradually disappearing from India as in other countries in Europe and in America, its occasional existence being noticed only among lower class people. Tatooing seems to be non-Hindu in origin, and perhaps in the distant past a wave of it passed through India—but whence and to where it is rather very difficult to ascertain.

Mutilations to enhance beauty as we find in Africa and in some parts of America and Australia are not found in India excepting

Mutilation. perhaps the practice of boring the nose and ear lobe. ✓ Miss J. P.

Harrison ¹⁶ tried to show with much ingenuity that the artificial enlargement of the ear lobe appears

¹⁶ Harrison, J. Park;— *Journ. Anth. Inst; Great Britain and Ireland* Vol. II. p. 190. (1873).

originally to have been adopted in India for the purpose of receiving a "solar-disc". She maintains that Buddha when he renounced idolatry removed the emblem (ear disc) from his ear lobes which hung down in consequence in the manner shown in his images. It is quite conceivable that his followers also would for a time at least have affected the same peculiarity as regards the ear lobe.

The enlargement of the ear lobe has a very wide distribution and the custom of piercing the ear is wider still. There is practically no country where ear-boring is not practised either for wearing ornaments or as an initiation ceremony. In Hindu India, among the Brāhmans, boys have their ears pierced before the *Upanayana* (wearing of the sacred thread). This ceremony is ritualistically called *Karna Vedha** (boring of the ear lobe). The wide-spread practice of boring the different parts of the ear for wearing ornaments is noticed among women of all classes and communities.

In comparison with the ear-boring practice, the enlargement of the ear lobe has a restricted distribution in the sense that it is now-a-days entirely confined to the aboriginal tribes. Further, archæological statue finds and ancient pictures and engravings excepting those of Buddha, would seem to indicate that piercing of the ear lobe is more

* Bhudeb Ch. Mukherji, in his '*Achar Prabandha*,' opines that the custom of boring the ear is not Aryan in origin. He maintains that it is originally a non-Aryan custom which subsequently mixed up with other Aryan customs and so obtained its place among the Hindus.

archaic and was followed by the enlargement of the ear lobe. Would it be correct to infer that the enlargement of the ear lobe was unknown in India before Buddha?

The operation of boring is performed in childhood by an expert with thread and needle, and saline water is applied to the affected parts to remove any pain that may result. After a fortnight or so, the thread inserted into the bores is replaced by a pair of rings or any other ear ornaments that may be chosen. To distend or to enlarge the lobe, weights are suspended from it often in the form of ornaments until it is brought to the requisite length. This enlargement is otherwise done as we find in practice among almost all the aboriginal tribes of India. One process consists in repeated insertions of pieces of pith of different dimensions, which, when wet, expand and exert pressure on all sides of the hole making it gradually wider; the other is to put into the bore a thin bamboo plate rolled up in the form of a cylinder which acts like a spring tending to make the bore bigger. Further, a mention is made by Stewart¹⁷ that "The old Kukis (a hill tribe of Assam) along with two other clans of the new Kukis, instead of boring the ear with a small hole, *cut a circular piece of flesh* out of the lower lobe and insert an elastic shaving of bamboo rolled up in a ring so as to form a powerful spring, acting on all sides of the incision.

¹⁷ Stewart, Lt. R., *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIV, p. 619, (1855).

By means of this spring the hole is gradually enlarged" (*Italics are mine*). But such a custom is not found to exist among the present Kukis, neither do we find this practice to be in vogue among any other tribe or tribes in India and abroad.

The geographical distribution of the peculiar custom of enlarging the ear lobe is fairly wide. In Assam, Arakan, Burma, Laos, Ceylon and in the districts of Chōṭa Nagpur, Santal Parganas, and in some parts of Madras and Orissā, and also in the countries to the North-West of India, people, specially women, have their ear lobes enlarged. The custom is also noticed in America, Africa and also among the Asiatic Islanders and the inhabitants of South Pacific.

Lastly, in connection with the custom of ear-boring, we may here mention the practice current among the so-called Marwaris and other up-country people, both men and women. They bore two or all the four incisors of the upper jaw in the middle and fill the small holes so made, with golden plugs fitted to enhance the beauty of their teeth.

A fairly exhaustive and minute study of ornaments as regards their variety, uses, chronology and distribution points to the

Conclusion. The conclusion that the evolution of ornament has passed through several stages. Of these, the first may be called the *First Aesthetic Stage*, which is an Imitation stage, when primitive men with the budding

of their aesthetic sense under the sole [and direct influence of the beauties of Nature began to decorate themselves purely in imitation of the beautiful natural objects around. Now, though this is the first stage in the evolution of ornament, its actual *origin* seems to be much earlier in the cycle of human existence. In the remotest period of the pre-historic age when Man first appeared on the earth, he could not certainly have any idea of *beauty* and *beautification* in his brain. His life was then one of life-long struggle from day to day and from year to year. Indeed, in the 'struggle for existence', he had to spend his entire thought and energy to adjust himself to his new environment for the maintenance of life and for its protection from various dangers. Hence, whatever little training in life he had of necessity must have been wholly economic and material in its nature. In the face of this all-engrossing life-problem, the brain of the 'Early man' was not at all congenial to the growth of any aesthetic sense, and therefore the idea of such a *superfluous* thing—superfluous in that state of unsettled life as the *ornamentation* of body could never have crossed his mind. The thought of decoration was an acquisition of man in a later stage when life was comparatively settled, and in the consequent favourable circumstances, the aesthetic sense first dawned upon his mind. Now, though 'Early man' had no idea of ornamentation he had some superstitions of his own as regards a few objects found or believed to have been helpful to him in the matter of procuring his food

or warding off any evil. Hence arose in his mind the first crude idea of charm or talisman or *magic*, and he began to ascribe some *magical* properties to those objects which he found indispensably *necessary* for the maintenance of his life, and as such carried them constantly with him. It might be, for the convenience of carriage, that these objects were made suitable in shape and size. But these were not used *as ornaments*, although in them we find the actual *origin* of human ornaments. The so-called ornaments that have been found from the different beds of the upper Palæolithic and early Neolithic ages are really not ornaments in the true sense of the term which means *decoration* of the body to enhance its beauty. These finds are, then, the *magic* implements of 'Early man' in what may be called the *Pre-Aesthetic Stage* of ornaments, and may be regarded as valuable relics of the rude *prototype* of human ornaments. Hence we see that the source of the evolution of ornaments is in the talismanic or magic idea of the most primitive men of the pre-historic age. Again, it cannot in anyway be ignored that *magic* once played a very prominent part in the life of man, and it is a fact that many a charm-object of man has in course of time taken the shape of ornament and that the magical purpose in ornamentation is not lacking even to-day. That the belief in the magical power of things with a complete blindness to their decorative value if they have any, has a very strong hold on the mind of primitive people may be illustrated from the following observations of

Seligmann in relation to the wild Veddas of Ceylon. Says he, "The personal adornment is so lacking among them (Veddas) that it may be disregarded. At the present time, among the wilder Veddas, neither men nor women wear beads or ornaments of any kind though women are pleased to accept beads as presents.....Certain facts seem to indicate that beads may be sometimes treated as amulets or at least having magical power. But when it is remembered that the Veddas do not tatoo or paint themselves and have never been seen wearing any kind of beads as ornaments, it seems reasonable to assume that where beads are sought after by the Veddas they are valued for their supposed magical properties". ¹⁸ (Italics are mine).

Next to the *Pre-Aesthetic* or *Magical stage* of human ornamentation, comes, as has been already said, the *First Aesthetic Stage* when we meet with the first phase of decoration. The belief in the magic of a thing being an elemental idea in man, the magical aspect of ornamentation is to be more or less found in all the several stages of its development in which the sense of æstheticism as an essential factor in decoration—is likewise present. Hence the next transitional stage in which amulets and talismans are worn along with the other few crude ornaments produced by the art of the time may be called the *Aesthetico-Magical Stage*. Later on, some other definite motives influenced the ornamentation of men. These are wishes to attract and those for

¹⁸ Seligmann,—*The Veddas*, pp. 204-207,—

admiration, that characterise the psycho-sexual and aristocratic aspects of ornaments. Considerations of utility and religious efficacy have in an intermediate period entered into the principle of ornamentation. This Complex Stage may conveniently be called the *Socio-religious Stage*. Lastly, the final stage of ornamentation as we have at the present day, though characterised by the highest development of æsthetics and arts, is not purely æsthetic in nature, but a happy combination of all the different phases of ornamentation, in which the several grades of human progress and civilization in the matter of decoration from the primitive to the modern may be clearly discovered. To denote this Stage a comprehensive term is required and, for want of a better name, we propose to call it the *Aesthetico-Social Stage*.*

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* E. Selenka, in his 'Human Ornamentation' (1900) treats the problem of ornamentation psychologically. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult his book, as, so far I understand, it is not available in Calcutta.

III. FOLK-CUSTOM AND FOLK LORE OF THE SYLHET DISTRICT IN INDIA.

(Concluded from Vol. X, Nos. 2 & 3, p. 149).

BY PADMANATH BHATACHARJEE, BIDYABINOD, M. A.

CHAPTER VI.

52. There is belief in the evil eye. If anybody, believed to have an evil eye, admires a fat and plump child, or a tree with a good number of fruits, or a cow giving a good quantity of milk, belonging to some other person, that other person would collect three handfuls of straw from three corners of his house and with it would wipe the body of the child, root of the tree, and udders of the cow and burn it. One would also throw away a sweet thing, which was eyed on with greediness, or else anyone eating it would catch a bowel-complaint—the remedy whereof, however, consists of rubbing oil with plaintain-leaf over the navel of the eater and throwing the same afterwards into fire.

When a child goes out of the house, it is the custom with mothers to mix her saliva with earth and taking the mixture with her little finger of the left hand, to put a drop between the eyebrows of the child in order to protect it from the evil eye. It is a custom also to place a used-pot painted black and white on a bamboo post near a flourishing garden to prevent the harmful effect of malicious eyes.

The mussalmans also believe in evil eyes and would adopt similar precautions as above regarding

plants and gardens. To protect human beings from evil eye, they use charmed amulets on neck and hand.

53. There is custom among Hindus and Mahamadans to give opprobrious names to children of parents whose children die soon after they are born. It is believed that if ordinary human names be not given to children, persons with evil eye might not take notice of them.

54. No change of sex has been heard in this part of the country. In old times there were cases of such a change, e. g. Arjuna turned eunuch for a yerr and Rāja Ilā would turn to a female for half the year. (For Sikhandi, see Mahabharata).

55. Gold, silver, copper, tin and iron, and a mixture of 8 metals (called Ashtadhātu) are used in making amulets that are worn for protection from all evils including spirits. Coral is used in amulets and shell charmed with mantras is also worn in the neck or arms. Precious stones e. g. diamond, if kept in a house preserve the family from all evils. (For spittle see para 52).

Salt, water and mustard (generally white) among the grains are used by Ojhās when they treat persons possessed by evil spirits: they give charmed water or salt to be eaten by their patients and throw mustard on the body of the possessed for expelling the spirit from the body. Red-coloured ink *alta* or vermillion is used generally in writing charms for amulets and blue and yellow threads are used in the preparation of the amulets

and for binding the same in the arm or waist or neck. Tattooing is used not as a prevention against evil spirits but as a sort of treatment of liver of children, in which case, a small circular spot is painted between the eye-brows of children. The mahammadans wear glass beads charmed, in the same way and for the same purpose as the amulets. Blood, incense, grass, leather or garlic may sometimes form the ingredients of charmed amulets.

56. Amulets are prepared in the following way :—

(a) Some thing written on a paper or a leaf (generally of Bhurja tree), or (b) some article such as root of a plant, some grain, a piece of metal etc, are duly charmed by mantras, rolled and fastened into a small ball by black or yellow threads, put into a metal case, and then worn in the right or left arm or on the neck or at the waist. Sometimes a single thing, such as a piece or a cowrie charmed, serves as an amulet.

In this connection, see also the previous para (no. 55).

As to the mantras that are used in writing on leaves or papers or in charming things for amulets, the Hindus use some Tantric symbols e. g. ह्रीं (Hring), क्लीं (Kling) etc. with other unintelligible things in Sanskrit or in Bengali and these mantras are kept in dead secrecy and never communicated to any but the initiated to the art. The mussalmans use generally some verse from the Korān, or any saying of a holy person; (one is

given here ; Saiakafikā humullāhu o huos samī'ul 'a lim".=All-hearing Omniscient God will be to your rescue and pacify you".) The Hindus write their mantras either in Deva-nāgari (rarely), or in Bengali character and the Mussalmans in Arabic.

57. Magic circles which are called *gandī* are used not only to protect people from the evil spirits, but also to protect the whole village from all sorts of evils. The sorcerer would walk round the village and plant *dhwajas* (=flag-posts) at each side, and mount on each *dhwaja* an earthen cup with charms written on it. If a person accidentally comes across a cobra which when provoked is sure to take revenge some time at night, he is protected by a circle of charmed dust round his bed. When a sorcerer treats a person possessed by evil spirit he draws a circle round the patient and cuts an opening out of this circle when the spirit is commanded to go out of the body (*vide* also para 37 *ante*).

The Brahmins at the time of worship encircle their seats with rice or water, and utter mantras to protect themselves from all sorts of evil.

58. There is a lot of things and phenomena from which good and evil are divined :—

- (1) Involuntary shaking of certain parts of the body.
- (2) Sneezing ; and ticking of lizards.
- (3) Direction of the sight of birds (e. g. swallow), beasts (e. g. Jackal) and snakes.

(4) The direction at which and the manner in which a crow caws.

(5) Sight of certain animals, things, persons in certain states, etc, at the commencement of a work (e. g. journey is stopped when an empty vessel is seen).

(6) Good and bad dreams and the hour at which they occur.

(7) Days with peculiar conjunction of stars and the moon and the sun and planets (as laid down in books of Astrology).

(8) When, of unnumbered things, even or odd number of things are set apart at haphazard (*even*, bad; *odd*, good).

The belief, in almost all sorts of omens, is based on S'astras dealing with them viz. Astrology and others.

The Mussalmans, too, believe in all these things.

59. Sraddha ceremony with monthly *Sapindanas* (also S'raddha) performed according to the S'astras helps the deceased to attain bliss in after world, so does also the throwing of bones into the Ganges.

The S'raddha ceremony, if performed at Gayā, relieves the deceased from the necessity of a rebirth.

It is by the S'raddha ceremony that the departed spirit is made benevolent to the survivors.

60. Children under two years of age and persons who have renounced the world and people of the Jugi (Weaver) caste are buried underground after death: otherwise all the Hindus are burnt after death. The Mussalmans are all buried.

The process of burning is this:—A person after death is bathed and given a new cloth: the corpse is then carried on a *Māchān* (bier) on the shoulder of the relatives to the place of cremation. There, a *chulli* is dug—generally cross lines with depth enough to give faggots in. The body then is placed upside down with head northwards, and, then, the son or a near relative applies fire in the mouth with *mantras*. The body is then burnt with ghee, sandal wood, agar etc. supplemented by common wood. When it is completely consumed by the fire, the funnel is extinguished by water and stray bones are collected for being thrown into the Ganges. After completely clearing the funnel, a pillow, a mat, a pitcher and a piece of cloth is placed in it and a bamboo twig is pitched there with a piece of rag tied on it as a flag.

The process of burial with the Hindus is very simple: only a hole is dug and made wide enough to contain the corpse which is then put into the same and earth is given on the dead body to cover the hole.

The process with the Mussalmans is this: a grave is made in the ground, the length of which is the length of the corpse, the breadth half of length, and the depth almost three feet. The length is from North to South, and breadth from East to West. The corpse is laid on its back with head towards North, and from the sloping nature of the depth, it faces towards West—the direction of Mecca. Bamboo pieces are pitched to support the corpse in this slanting posture and

then plaintain-leaves or mats are thrown over the body and earth is thrown to fill up the grave.

Hindu sons are required to shave their hair the day before the first S'raddha day—which in the case of Brahmans takes place after 10, and in the case of S'ūdras, after 30 days. People also shave their hair when they go to Prayag (Allahabad) or perform any penance (Prāyaschitta).

No food article is placed on the cremation or burial ground. Only Purak Piṇḍas (balls of cooked rice) are given by Samavedi Brahmans at the cremation-place as a beginning of the S'raddha ceremony which terminates on the first anniversary day after death. Other Hindus give Puraka Piṇḍas at home. All Hindus perform S'raddha at home and offerings made therein are supposed to be credited to the deceased: on the S'raddha occasion, food, bed, utensils, cattle, conveyance and what not, are offered to Brāhman and it is the faith of the Hindus that by this means the deceased gets the benefit of all the offerings.

61. The spirit may reappear in the form of insects or animals or anything according to its *Karma* which is the result of the actions of the person to whom it belonged in the previous birth. But such a reappearance cannot be recognised by any one (except, of course, one who possesses the knowledge of the past, present and future).

62. The used earthen vessels of the house in which a person dies are thrown away apparently in the idea of their becoming impure on the occasion.

During the ten days (and in the case of a S'ūdra, 30 days) after death, the near relatives of the dead do not eat fish or flesh, and on the tenth (or 30th) day, they shave themselves and become pure. The sons and the wife of the dead practise greater austerities during that period: they never take salt, nor sleep on bed-steads and the wife will continue in this state throughout the remainder of her life.

63. Spirits are as a rule malevolent but they can be turned benevolent by propitiation. The Mussalmans believe the Paris (fairies) to be of benevolent nature.

64. Big trees, esp. *Aswattha* and *Seora* (*Sakhota*) are believed to be haunted by spirits. The existence of spirits in trees is surmised by their moving without wind, sudden breaking of boughs, or even their being uprooted without any storm. Fire is seen at night and noise is heard on them without any creature being visible to the eye. If anybody strikes them with axe, he falls ill and unless the spirit haunting the trees is propitiated, he dies.

65. No spirit is known to be a protector of crops and cattle.

66. Juju, Khagabuḍi, Leiya Khauri are the imaginary beings that are invoked to silence the crying, or pacify the restless children.

VII.

67. There are trees in almost all the Hindu villages which are said to be the abodes of the Goddess Rupasi or Rupeswari. Nobody would

cut those trees for fear of a dreadful calamity. Besides *Rupasi* trees, there are other trees such as big *Baṭa* or *Aśwattha* trees held in equal veneration. For instance, in the village Khariā (in Habiganj) there is a *Baṭa* tree which is believed to be haunted by *Bebān*, a saint; and in Haor Ghungiajure (also in Habiganj) there is a common *Hijal* tree which is called *Chandīgāchh* (tree of *Chandī*=*Durgā*). Both these trees are held in great veneration.

There are sacred groves of trees which are held in great veneration by Mussalmans and are called *mokāms* by them. Flags are pitched near the trees and the grounds beneath them are kept clean. No body is allowed to cut these trees, as, if anyone cut such a tree, he would die. Some of the *Mokāms* are—

- (a) Kutub's mokām } in Tarap in Habiganj.
- (b) Muḍar band }
- (c) Gaibis' Mokām ... }
- (d) Mokām near Betuāmukh. } in North Sylhet.
- (e) Mokām in Chap ghāt in Karimganj.

68. *Seorā* (Sanskrit *Sākhoṭa*) tree is generally connected with *Rupeswari*, *Sij* (Sanskrit *Snuhi*), with *Manasā* the serpent deity, *Kadamba* with *Srikrishna*, *Vilwa* with *Siva*, *Tulsi* with *Vishnu*. *Baṭa*, *Aśwattha*, *Nimba*, *Tamāla* and *Āmalaki* are other trees that are shown respects to, as gods are said to be fond of haunting them. Mussalmans have no faith in it.

69. As has been said in para 67, every village has a tree which is the abode of *Rupeswari*.

There are other trees also which are the haunting places of, say, Kāl Bhairab, receive respects. Both Hindus and Mussalmans look with awe and respect on the trees which are believed to be haunted by genii.

Every tree of the above descriptions has a legend which is of this shape: A person went near the tree, heard a sound from it, and saw the form of the Deity or Demon; thenceforth the tree became an object of awe and reverence; or, such and such deity appeared to one in a dream and ordered him to give him offerings at the root of a particular tree and the tree became sacred; or, in course of an Ojha's treatment the spirit in a possessed person declared that it resided in such and such tree and the tree got notoriety thenceforth.

70. No custom is known to marry one with a tree; nor is marriage with a god known here. But if a man marries for the third time, he has to marry a flower plant or an insect before: a girl who has a bad planet at the marriage place in the horoscope would often place garland of marriage on the image of Vishnu (Sālagram) before the marriage with the bride-groom to avert evil consequences. Religious prostitution is unknown.

71. Snake worship is widely current in this district. Manasā (the snake-deity) is worshipped in every Hindu house on the last day of the month of S'rāvana, and on Nag Panchami day (fifth day of the waning moon of Ashāṛha). There are shrines also of the serpent-deity Manasā, for instance one at Sughar in Habiganj.

There are eight serpent heroes called *Ashtanāga* viz. *Ananta*, *Vasuki*, *Padma*, *Mahāpadma*, *Takshaka*, *Kulira*, *Karkāṭa* and *S'ankha*—worshipped along with *Manasā*.

72. It is believed here that the snakes guard treasures. But no particular instance can be cited for details. Before iron-safes were in vogue, people put their treasures in a hole beneath the floors of their dwelling places. It is notorious that snakes which have no aptitude for making holes themselves for their residence, would gladly avail themselves of any holes that could be had ; so the treasure holes, which were not frequently disturbed, contained 'snakes in the' enjoyment of sleep. These snakes never hurt those that went to dig out the treasure and so in their turn were not disturbed by the people.

73. As stated in para 71, on the last day of *S'rāvana* and on the *Naga Panchami* day, serpents are worshipped. The Snake-deity *Manasā* and the Snake-heroes are worshipped in the same manner as other deities of the Hindu Pantheon are worshipped. *Manasā* likes sacrifices of goats, pigeons and drakes. She dislikes *dhūpa* (incense). The Snakes are offered unboiled milk and plain-tains. The village people in *Habiganj* and *Sunamganj* Sub-divisions read every night in *S'rāvana* a poem, with singing and beating of *tomtom*, called *Padmā-Purāna* which was composed partly by *Pandit Jānakinath* (a native of *Habiganj* Sub-division) and *Narayan Dev* (a resident of the adjoining part of the *Mymensingh* district). The style

of the book is plain and its language is the language of the sub-division of Habiganj. It relates the mighty exploits of Manasā against Chānd Sadāgar who did not worship her, but did so finally when he was humbled to the dust. In other Sub-divisions of Sylhet, the Padmā Purāṇa composed by *Shashṭhibar* is read in a similar way.

Besides the above, there is a festival in this connection which is peculiar to the Sylhet district only: it is called Naukā-pūjā [worship of (=in) boat]. The principal gods of the Mythology are worshipped along with Manasā the Snake-deity. Manasā's statue is placed in the middle of a boat that represents Chānd Sadagar's *dingā* (navigating vessel). Around her are placed the statues of other gods and goddesses. The worshipper who must be a rich man spends sometimes half a *lakh* of rupees in this festival which represents the worship of Manasā, with great *eclat* by Chānd Sadāgar (when humbled), along with other deities as narrated in the indigenous Padmā-Purāṇa. Manasā (also called Darāi) is also worshipped on the marriage occasion of a son or a daughter—if such a pūjā was promised in his or her childhood—with chanting of Padmā-Purāṇ by *Gurmā* (See para 1).

74. If any one is bitten by a snake, he binds a strong rope immediately above the bitten spot and sends a man for the *Ojhā*. The *Ojhā* cannot stay a single moment on hearing the news—and runs to the house of the snake-bitten. He comes and begins

to utter *mantras* which are very vociferous and obscene, and, rub the place bitten. If the man bitten be senseless, hot water is poured on him and with a folded cloth the Ojha strikes the body with great force—uttering loudly the *mantras* all along. He then makes an opening at the end of the limb which is bitten and lets go poisoned blood, after rubbing the whole limb from the spot tied with a rope, to its end again and again. This is the way how snake-bites are treated. If the bite be in such a part of the body as the head or belly, no bandage is tied, and the cure rests simply on the potency of *mantras* which however oftentimes fail, if the Ojha is not called instantly and if the snake be a deadly cobra.

* 75. It is believed that some of the snakes have jewels in their heads. Sometimes when such a snake goes out in quest of food, it keeps aside the jewel in its place and if anybody watching the moment, puts cow-dung over the jewel, the snake on return becomes frantic at not seeing it and after a while dies in grief, as it were, for the loss. The jewel is then taken away from its hiding place.

As to snakes' connection with the rain-bow, their palace under water, and their marriage with girls, there is no faith in this part of the country.

Snakes of all sizes that dwell in and about the houses of people are believed to be the guards of the house. Nobody kills them unless they are known to be offensive to mankind.

VIII.

76. As will be seen from what has been stated

already that the Hindus worship trees and animals : but such worship is not suggestive of *Totemism*, inasmuch as the trees and animals are in no way regarded as protectors of any particular tribes or clans. Trees are worshipped, because they are believed to be *haunted* by supernatural beings : animals are worshipped because they are supposed to have *connection* with gods, as the Cow is supposed to contain a good many deities in the different parts of her limbs.

No clan is named after, or claim descent from, animals and plants.

Cows are treated with special respect by the Hindus ; and blue pigeons (called Jalali) are held in special respect by the Muhammadans, as these pigeons are said to carry messages from God. The name is connected with Pir Shah Jalal who got them from Arabia.

Hindus desist from eating beef and fowl and the Mussalmans avoid the flesh of swine and tortoise.

77. No local deity is known to be specially connected with animal worship. But when a man goes to worship Kali at Faljur in Jaintia, he makes an offering to the crows of the place, as well. If immediately after the offering is made, a crow comes in and takes away everything, the worshipper is satisfied that the goddess has accepted his pūjā. This is called Kakabali (= offering to crows). There is a similar offering to jackals in some pūjās, but it is believed that the deity who does not appear in his true form, manifests himself in the forms of these animals.

78. Stocks are never worshipped—nor are stones worshipped as such, but as symbols of deities, a stone-*linga* for Siva and a circular small stone as *Sālagram*—symbol for Vishnu.

Perforated stones are those *Sālagrams* which are circular small stones with a hole in each of them. They are worshipped as Vishnu.

79. No survival of the human sacrifice is known in Sylhet.

80. If *Vilwa*-leaves are offered to the stone *lingas* and if *Tulasi* leaves are offered to *Sālagram*, the gods Siva and Vishnu are respectively propitiated and thus diseases are cured. People would not have worshipped stone *lingas* and *Sālagram* stones unless they believed them to be the emblems of deities. Sometimes a block of stone is worshipped as *Kālī* or as some other deity, believing that deity to be present in the stone.

But these stone-deities are not fetishes.

81. Only the *Brahmans* can worship the *Sālagram* and all other stone deities: but the initiated *Sūdras* are allowed to worship stone-*lingas* belonging to them—and no *Brahman* will then worship the same.

82. On the last day of the *Dūrgā pūjā*—called *Bijayā-das'amī* and on the *Srī Panchamī* day (i.e. fifth day of the waxing moon in *Māgh*—when the Goddess of learning is worshipped) the people worship their professional implements also; consequently husbandmen worship corn-sieves, winnowing baskets etc. The method of worship is that those

articles are cleansed, and drops of vermillion put on them.

83. In performing Yajna at the time of marriage and other domestic ceremonies, fire is worshipped regularly. When a village suffers repeatedly from outbreaks of fire, the God Brahmā is worshipped. His statue is made and he is worshipped in the manner prescribed in the the S'āstras.

84. Now-a-days the sacred fire is not preserved in any temple or shrine. At the time of a pūjā, the females burn a lamp with cotton and ghee, and it is not allowed to be extinguished, days and nights, as long as the ceremony lasts. During the Durgā pūjā days such lamps burn continually for four days and four nights.

Fire is not now-a-days made by friction of wood.

IX.

84. Hindus have regard for every sort of creature as they see God in every soul. Before taking his meal a devout Hindu is required to offer a handful to the creatures of the world. There is a folk-ceremony called *Tiger's brata* (बाघेर सिद्धि—offering to tiger). The young folks go from door to door and get rice and pice by which they purchase eatables and feast together—giving a ḍālī, containing all sorts of eatables to the Tiger near a wood, which however is not really meant for a *defacto* tiger, but is eaten by one of the party in a tiger's dress or by a dog supposed to be a tiger. A goat is actually worshipped with *mantras*,

flowers etc. just before it is sacrificed to some divinity and so is a buffalo. The Cow is notably a worshipful animal—its dung and urine are also sacred. The Jackal and the crow get offerings in Tāntrik worship: and whether or not the deity worshipped is satisfied, is proved by the nature in which they accept offerings made to them. The crow gets offerings when one's parent dies, as its satiation is supposed to lead to the satisfaction of Yama (= Pluto) whose messenger it is supposed to be. Blue pigeons called Jalali are respected by Mussalmans. No other animals are known to be worshipped or respected.

85. Witches are called Dāiṇs and the belief of their existence and power prevail greatly among the populace. One Jalu Miya of Selbarash in Sunamganj Sub-division is reported to have been killed by a Dāiṇ. The witches might appear in any form they like, anywhere and at any moment. They generally haunt woods and mountains, mostly the latter. The Tipperahs of the hills sometimes become Dāiṇs by learning the *mantras* for shape-shifting.

86. There is no test or ordeal for the recognition of the Dāiṇs. They prove baneful in the following way: they measure the body of their victim by a thread and as soon as they burn the thread, the person dies: so the people believe that protection from them consists in not standing erect or sitting, so as not to give the Dāiṇs facility to take the measurement by thread.

XI.

87. Before commencing ploughing, sowing or

reaping and harvesting, an auspicious day for the purpose is found out, and the following rural ceremonies are observed on each occasion :

Ploughing.—When a husbandman goes to plough for the first time, he brings the yoke and ropes into the house and worships them with paddy and grass, and salutes them. The plough-cattle are garlanded with flowers.

Sowing.—On the sowing day, the Goddess of wealth (Lakshmi) is worshipped ; and the relatives and cultivating servants are fed with cakes and other good things. The floor of the house is painted with the solution of water and rice-powder, and a little of the solution is sprinkled over the yoke and ropes.

Reaping and harvesting.—When the sickle is just taken to the field, a plough-man bathes and gathers, with his face towards East, only seven stalks of paddy from the field, and covering them and the sickle with a cloth brings them home on his head and fastens them at the central post of the house. The man must not speak all the while and, when he enters the house, the women cry *u lu lu* and honour him by putting some paddy and grass on his head. The Goddess of Fortune (Lakshmi) is worshipped also, on the occasion.

88. For the protection of cattle, people worship S'iva, or give Sirni (offering) to the Pir. S'iva is worshipped in the cattle house. Sirni to the Pir is given through Mussalmans, who also eat the Prasad i.e. the things offered. These processes are adopted by individuals for the protection of

their cattle. But when there is an epidemic among the cattle of the village or villages, all the villagers join together and perform what is called "*Gosṭha-bihār*" in the following manner:— The males of the village go to the pasture grounds in the morning with all their cattle and with an idol of Vishnu, and sing songs alluding to the tending of cattle by S'rikrishna in Brindāvan. In the field they worship the idol and offer to it rice cooked with milk, and other things. By the evening they would return home with their cattle and with an idol of Vishnu, and sing songs alluding to the tending of cattle by S'ri-Krishna in Brindāvan. In the field they worship the idol and offer to it rice cooked with milk, and other things. By the evening they would return home with their cattle, singing similar songs as in the morning.

There are other rural ceremonials that are practised for the protection of cattle. On the last day of the month of Kārtik, when the cattle are returning from the pasture field at evening, fire is made with straws at seven places on their way so that the cattle might pass through these places and the smoke of the fire might get to every part of their body. The cowherds at that time sweep the body of each head of the cattle with a plaintain leaf and utter *mantras* at the same time. The villagers believe that by so doing the weakness and uncleanness of the cattle are removed and they are invigorated, at least the *mantras* mean so. That day is called "*Bhola San-*

kranti" and the process is called "shaking off of *Bholābhuli*". Again on the seventh day of the waxing moon in the month of Māgh the hair of the tail of the cattle is clipped and they are washed well. The cattle are then garlanded with flower and painted with the solution of water and powdered-rice. This also is intended for the welfare of the cattle, and like other ceremonials, is practised every year.

The house-wives do the following things to ensure sunshine and fair weather:—

(a) A boy is directed to besmear the roof of the house of his maternal uncle, with mud, and in one breath.

(b) A stone for squeezing spices is placed on the earthen lamp-cup and this is put in the yard with seven *Kachu*-leaves one upon another.

(c) At evening some boys and girls are called and an offering is made to a deity named Hāsyānāth (Lord of Laughter). The children are asked to laugh as much as they can and partake of the offering to their fill. This is called the *Sevā* (= *pūjā*) of Hāsyānāth. (In this connection, the concluding part of para 12 may also be read.)

There is no rite known to be adopted for scaring noxious animals or insects: Services of *Phirāls* (vide para 12) are availed of in protecting special crops.

The common Mussalmans give *Sirni* to *Pirs* for the protection of cattle and crop and the

orthodox among them hold special prayers to their God for the welfare of cattle and crop.

89. Tantrik rites are generally performed in silence and secrecy. The *mantra* one gets at the time of initiation is strictly enjoined to be of great secrecy and never to be communicated even if one's life be at stake. The new-moon of the month of Bhādra is called *mauni* Amābasyā (silent new-moon) because people on that day bathe at early morning and observe strict silence from the time of rising from the bed till bathing is performed. Some people observe this on every new moon day if that be a Monday.

The women perform the *Bratas* (rites) which may be mentioned in this connection: One is called "Āchambiter brata: (Achambit = Sudden = deity of Suddenness). When an expected child-birth is being delayed, or any expected business is not going to be accomplished soon, or when anybody in danger wishes to be relieved of it suddenly, this *brata* is promised and is performed if the expectations are fulfilled. A woman would forbear eating anything before bath, and after bath would take her water-pot and a plantain leaf (for dish) in her hand, and would go quite unexpectedly, at dinner time, to a house where she never had dined before. There, whatever could be got for food she would eat on the leaf, bearing in mind the name of Āchambit Thākur all along. From the time of bathing until she washes her mouth after dinner, she would not speak a syllable and keep her advent to the dining house quite in secrecy.

The other is called the Brata of "Ekāchorā" (Eka = alone, Chorā = thief). This is observed for the welfare of a child by its mother. The mother with two female associates abstains from food till midday when, after bathing, the mother goes to a *Kāmini* flower-tree with singing, bearing a *dali* (offering) to the deity. At this opportunity, the two associates go to the mother's house, take meal there and go swiftly away. That day they are never to meet the mother who is not also to know that they have eaten in her house.

90. On the night before the Hōli day "burning ceremony" takes place: Meshāsūr (Sheep demon) disturbed Sree Krishna on the eve of the *Dōl* day and he killed him. That scene is enacted by burning the effigy of that demon and this is called *Bahnyutsava* or burning ceremony. A shed is made in the field where dried paddy stalks are kept in a heap: the effigy covered with sheep's wool is taken there together with the idols of Srikrishna and Radhā, generally attended with singing and dancing. The shed with the effigy in it is burnt and the people return home with the idols. The next day (i. e. on the Pūjā-day) the idols are worshipped and hung over an earthen mound called *Dōla mancha* (Scaffold of swinging). The people throw the red dust called *Ābir* on the deities first and then on one another and sing *hōli* songs throughout afternoon and night. In some places it is the custom not to take the idols to the burning ceremony on the eve of the

Pūjā, but to go around the village on the afternoon of the Pūjā-day with the idols attended with music, dancing and fire-works. On the day after pūjā, *Pankotsab* (mud ceremony) takes place. The youths of the village go from house to house in the morning, make mud in the yard, wallow there in wrestling, and sing all sorts of obscene songs, when throwing red-dust and solution of red-powder and water on the body of others (males and females). The objectionable parts of this ceremony are fast disappearing now-a-days.

91. When the girls who are generally married early, attain puberty (which is indicated by menstruation) their "second" marriage ceremony takes place. The S'astric part of the ceremony is everywhere common and consists of an ābhyudayik S'raddha of the ancestors by the husband and his cohabitation with the wife at night, uttering *mantras* from the Vedas. The females have their own rites which are not very decent. They would throw a ruddy solution of turmeric with lime on the cloth of the near relatives and would sing obscene songs and dance in the mud made in the yard. But this objectionable part of the ceremony is gradually disappearing.

The boys when they get their puberty are not honoured with any rite. There was however a trifling usage of singing songs and blessing the youth with a bestowal of paddy and grass on his head, when the razor was first applied to his chin. The barber would get a pair of cloth as his reward. But this has now become obsolete,

as the people of this part of the country (and perhaps everywhere) have not now that vein for merriment which they had even a generation or two ago.

—:o:—

POST SCRIPT.

The above was written in 1898 when I was Deputy Inspector of Schools in Sylhet in answer to Questions on Folklore circulated by Mr. Crooks I. C. S. of the (then) N. W. Provinces. It would have been better, no doubt, if the Questions could be printed side by side with these answers: but they got out of my hand even then—and I kept no copy thereof.

On some of the points I received information from Babu Isanchandra Majumdar of Sughar (in Habiganj Subdivision) and Babu Krishnakinkar Chaudhuri of Pagla (in Sunamganj); and on most of the points relating to Mussalman customs, Maulavi Muhammad Nasim of Madrasa Daudiya of Renga (in North Sylhet) helped me with information. Rai Saheb Navakishor Sen, my predecessor in office, who had a through knowledge of the whole District, went over the whole of what I wrote and made a few suggestions which were incorporated. None of these gentlemen is now living: and I feel myself duty-bound to mention their names in grateful remembrance.

There have been only a few additions and alterations and the transliteration of the proper names and non-English words has remained un-amended.

Circumstances stood seriously in the way of my looking over the proof-sheets above para 52 and although a good many of the errors have been amended by the correction slip (appended)—yet much remains un-amended for which the kind indulgence of the readers is solicited.

Hindu society is at present in a melting pot, as it were, and the beliefs and customs of the people are rapidly changing. This record therefore may be deemed of some interest to those inquisitive persons who might care to know something of the state of society in Sylhet during the last part of the Nineteenth Century.

Errata et Corrigenda
to the article on

Folk-custom and Folklore of the Sylhet District.

page, line	for	read
116 5	Gunna	Gurma
„ 15	Daibajuas	Daivajñas
117 21	South-south-west	South, south-west
118 8	E	E/
119 5	Ras'	Ras
120 last two lines	ঘেনু	ঘনু
„ 3	Grihini	Grahani
„ 10	encieinte	enceinte
„ 19	calamitees	calamities
„ 32	সৌঘল	শৌঘল
121 1-2	Dhenu	Dhanu
123 18	Bramha	Brahma
„ 28	what is	what are

124	6	Ranga	Rengā
„	10	Gudbarah	Gudharali
„	12	Suma	Surma
„	21	दक्षिणे	दक्षिणे
„	22	होईव	होईव
126	17	Sorceress	Sorcerers
127	25	it	them
„	29	On	For
128	11	Latitā	Lalita
„	12	Phulka, Kulkar	Phulkar, Kālkar
„	28	Dadhibāmtra	Dadhivāmana
129	15	waning	waxing
„	24	Keshara	Kesava
130	11	Jungeswara	Tungeswara
„	26	the namesake	namesake
„	29	Balisin	Balisirā
131	1	This	This is
„	7-8	The second Pith in Sylhet	<i>delete</i>
		cannot be traced now	[Vide (m) and (n) below]
„	9,12,17	Jaintrapur	Jaintiapur
132	22	Siva tila	Sivatila and
„	23	and	are
133	4	Mahāsambhu	Mahāprabhu or of
			Jagannath
134	3	Halsganj	Habiganj
„	14	वाङ्म	वाङ्म
„	19	high.	high ?
„	33	marriage),	marriage,
135	1	the	The
137	18	apāts	āyāts
139	3	Maejhsāsān	Maijh sāsan
„	„	Barāpārā	Barā pārā
„	13	CHAPTER	CHAPTER

140	9-10	immortality	mutability
"	13	miracles	miracles, except that of Shah Jalal in Sylhet town
"	17	temple	temple
"	20	Kutu nul	Kutub ul
"	24	Zin lakh	Tinlakh
"	25	Ranel	Pānch
"	27	barrennes	barrenness
"	28	proceses	prcesses
142	27	Allah	Illin
143	7	35	36 *
"	15	omit the fullstop after between	
144	6	peom	person
"	30	a	or
"	31	indicate	indicates
145	10	para 34	para 35
146	10	god	God
"	28	49	40
147	3	Brāhmadasyus	Brahmadasyus also called Brahmadaityas
244	30	mussalmans	Mussalmans
246	6	mahammadans	Mahammadans
"	20	suce	such
"	27	ह्रीं क्लीं	ह्रीं क्लीं
"	31	mussalmans	Mussalmans
247	1	Saiakafika	"Saiakafika
"	2	=All heaving	(=All heaving
249	7	upside down	upside down if male, or the reverse if female,
"	"	northwards	northwards or southwards
252	7	Ghungiajure	Ghungiajuri

—:0:0:—

* From para 36 downwards all the paragraphs need correction (by adding 1 to it) up to paragraph 50.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

Man for October, 1930 (Special India Number) contains seven articles on Indian topics. Prof. J. L. Myers contributes an introductory note which is followed by *Notes on Sundry Asiatic Beads* by H. C. Beck, *Urn-burials in the Wynead, Southern India*, by L. A. Cammiade, *Tangal, Chingleput District, Madras* by L. A. Cammiade, *Observations Upon Ancient Sites in the Neighbourhood of Kalugumalai, Madras Presidency* by L. A. Cammiade and *Indian Cairn and Urn-burials* by K. de B. Codrington.

In *Folklore* for June 1929, Prof. Henry Balfour concludes his article *Concerning Thunderbolts*. Three celts from the Naga Hills in Assam are described and illustrated. Two of these are slightly tanged and ground all over, and each mounted with a canework loop for suspension; the third is a ground celt of very hard pale-grey stone, with a reddish tinge, perhaps due to iron infiltration, which appears to have caused the celt to be regarded as a *live* thunderbolt and consequently a source of danger to its possessor. Some of the Naga tribes regard stone celts as luck-bringing, whereas the Lohtas usually will not touch them.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, for October, 1930, Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer contributes an article on *Dravidic Perspectives* in which he analyses and compares the Dravidian

forms for 'east', 'west', 'north', 'south', and 'cocoanut' in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu, Kurukh and Kui; Mr. A. F. Thyagaragu gives a list of 59 words expressing ideas of an elementary nature to show *Glossarial Affinities between Finnish and Dravidian*; Mr. Dhyan Chandra contributes an article on *Hindus as Pioneers of World Civilization*; and Prof. S. C. Mitra contributes the tenth instalment of his *Studies in Plant-Myths*.

In the *Journal of the Andhra Society* for January and April, 1930, Mr. K. Venkatappayya contributes an article on *Education in Ancient India*.

In the *Annals of the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute*, Dr. R. Sham Shastri contributes an article on *Forms of Government in Ancient India*.

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* for 1929, Prof. S. N. Roy contributes an article on *Bengal Traditions of Trade and Commerce*, and another on *The Sky in Children's Fancy*; Prof. S. C. Mitra contributes three articles, viz—*Tibetan Folklore from Kalimpong*, *Cosmological Myth of the Birhors and its Santal and American Indian Parallels* and a *Note on the Prevalence of Cannibalism among the Birhors*; Dr. J. J. Modi writes on *Prophylactic Disguise for Averting Evil* and *The Original Home of the Indian Folklore about the Cocoanut*, Mr. R. K. Dadachanji writes on the *Differences between the Avestic and Vedic Systems of fire-worship*, Mr. R. G. Gani on *Three Amulets*, Mr. S. S. Mehta on

Some Hindu Superstitions, and the Editor on *Charm to Cause Rain* and on *Fasts*.

The *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* for November 1930, publishes Sir Edward Gait's Presidential Address on *Britain's Record of India* in which, as the Editor of that Journal observes, that scholarly and eminent Ex-administrator of an Indian Province, has "managed in a masterly way, not only to touch on the fundamentally important characteristics of both races, and the results of those characteristics in action, but also to light up some of the movements of the present time by his sympathetic insight and fair-minded estimate of the situation". In enumerating the manifold benefits which both India and Britain have derived from their political association, Sir Edward Gait points out that "contact with Indian life and culture and the study of her ancient religions and systems of philosophy have widened our outlook on life", and deplores that "however friendly may be the relations between a British official and the Indians, there is often on his side an undertone of superiority which causes annoyance, the more so because on the one hand this is usually quite unintentional, and on the other his greater administrative efficiency cannot be denied."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Animism, Magic and The Divine King.—*By* Gēza Rōheim. (*Kegan Paul. 1930*). PP. XVIII+390. Price 21 s. net.

In this thought-provoking volume the author seeks to interpret animism, magic and the idea of the Divine King (the successor of the wizard or medicine-man) by the principles of psycho-analysis. Although Dr. Rōheim's conclusions may not be accepted, at least for the present, by a large number of anthropologists, no one can fail to be struck by the high standard of scholarship and clear reasoning with which the learned author attempts to unravel the origin and growth of the ideas of Animism, Magic, and Divine King with the single help of the Freudian theory of *libido*. The great value of this pioneer volume as a contribution to the study of the primitive mind along a new line cannot be gainsaid. A similar study based on Hindu beliefs in Phallicism and phallic worship and rites connected therewith may be expected to throw much new light on the line of inquiry so ably pursued by Dr. Rōheim.

Myths of the Origin of Fire.—*An Essay. By* Sir James George Frazer. (*Macmillan. 1930*). PP. VII+238. Price 12 s. 6 d. net.

This is the first book of its kind in English in which stories and myths of backward peoples of

different countries and different ages relating to the origin of fire have been gathered from various sources. These most interesting and instructive tales and myths have been, as might be expected, presented with all the skill and charm that we have learnt to associate with Sir James Frazer and his writings. In the concluding chapter, the learned author shows how the narratives collected in the book indicate a general belief that with regard to fire mankind in the course of evolution passed through three phases corresponding to which they implicitly assume three successive ages, the Fireless Age, the Age of Fire Used, and the Age of Fire Kindled. "However these conclusions may have been reached, whether by speculation or by actual reminiscence orally transmitted", says Sir James, "it seems highly probable they are substantially correct, and the myths collected in the book contain a substantial element of truth". No anthropological library can do without the book.

Artists in String. String Figures. Their Regional Distribution and Social Significance.—
By Kathleen Haddon (Mrs. O. H. T. Rishbeth).
With a Foreword by Prof. J. L. Myres. (Methuen, 1930). PP. X+174. Price 6 s. net.

In this book the author, the worthy daughter of her distinguished father, has broken new ground and made a valuable contribution to ethnological studies. In this book, for the first time, string

games are sought to be correlated with the social and physical environment of the peoples who practice the games. Five sets of figures derived from peoples associated each with a definite geographical area, namely Eskimoland, the Navaho Indian country, the Gold Coast of Africa, the Fly River delta of Papua and Northern Queensland, have been selected for treatment. The string figures peculiar to each of these groups are studied in connection with their physical and human background, so as to enable us "to assess their value as scientific evidence and possibly even to base certain general conclusions upon them". The author has succeeded in showing that when the general environmental background of a people is known, "the string-figures fit into their place in a highly significant way". "Not only objects of physical nature and animals are portrayed, but objects of human construction (houses, canoes, weapons), or of cultivation (plants), and even human beings are portrayed. And not only these but social customs (hunting, dancing, etc) come in for notice, and also religious beliefs and observances". "A collection of string figures might be likened to a picture gallery giving just that same glimpse into the life and interests of the people who created the pictures—painted or of string". "Even more important than this is the testimony—valuable because it is unconscious—which the selection of certain objects and ceremonies bears to the workings of the primitive mind. If in the physical sphere string figures represent the familiar, in the

mental and spiritual sphere they must fairly obviously represent the important. Here, then, we have a gauge of the value of string figures as data for the study of primitive psychology". The Appendix contains a rough classification of the objects represented by string figures throughout the world, which is highly interesting and instructive. A full bibliography and an exhaustive index are provided.

The Quatrains of Omar-i-Khayyam,—By F. Rosen, 1928, Luzac, London.

This book of the quatrains of Omar-i-Khayyam with an introduction and the Persian text taken from the two newly discovered manuscripts together with an English prose version is an useful and valuable addition to English literature on Oriental Studies. The book is nicely got up. The English version is fairly accurate, simple and easy. These translations of the Oriental poets are bringing the East into closer contact with the West, and greatly help the West to understand Oriental literature and the Oriental mind. Time has fully recognised the poetical talents of Omar, and his fame as a poet of high order is now firmly established. And it cannot be denied that Europe has played an important part in placing Omar's poetical genius before the world. The innumerable editions of his Quatrains in different western languages bear

ample testimony to Europe's appreciation of Omar's genius. The author has done a great service to Anglo-Persian literature and has earned the best thanks of all Oriental scholars.

S. A. R.

Thoughts on Indian Discontents.—*By Edwen Bevan. Published by George Allen, Unwin Limited, Museum Street, London, 1929. PP. 178. Price 6 s. net.*

Mr. Edwyn Bevan's name is known to many through his book on *Indian Nationalism* published in 1913 in which first occurred the now hackneyed phrase—the "steel frame"—which has since then been often sarcastically applied in season and out of season to the Indian Civil Service. In his present book, Mr. Bevan tries to analyse the causes which underlie the dissatisfaction that prevails in India and to find out remedies for allaying this discontent. He seems to be well up with the facts of India's agitation for winning self-government. He has studied the problem with interest and care, and every page of the book shows that he has honestly tried to solve in his own way the burning questions of the day. Many of his statements will not be acceptable to Indians. The light in which he has seen the problems is not the light in which most Indians see them. Yet in spite of this, Indians will read the book with interest, for it is an honest attempt to put the subject in the best way the author could.

The book was written in 1929; much has happened since then in the political world of India to prevent the book from being seen in its true perspective. It is difficult now to assert that Indian nationalism is backward-looking. It is inconceivable to-day for anybody to assert that Mahatma Gandhi is no longer taken by a very large section of Indians as a guide for action.

There are many other things in the book which will not find favour with Indians. Few Indians will take for granted his explanation of the altruistic motive which deters the British from leaving India to-day. There are very few who will take seriously his remarks on the finance of the Indian Government. While he deals exhaustively with the sources of revenue and concludes that the present system of taxation and excise cannot but be justified, he overlooks the possibility of effecting a change in the distribution of the governmental income among the various items of expenditure. However, Mr. Beran's book is very interesting. Opinions always differ and there is no reason why opinions should not differ as regards the Indian question. Mr. Beran's solutions may not be acceptable to all but it cannot be denied that looking from the standpoint of an Englishman who is out of touch with the real life in India, the conclusions could not have been otherwise.

B. D.

An Introduction to Sociology.—By W. D. Wallis. (New York, Knopf, 1928). PP. XVII+933. Price \$ 3. 50. net.

Readings in Sociology.—By W. D. Wallis and M. M. Willey (New York, Knopf, 1930). PP. XXIV+639+XXVI. Price \$ 3. 50. net.

These two interesting volumes, the second of which is a companion to the first, form very useful and stimulating introductions to the study of sociology. As Prof. Wallis justly claims, his work is "an attempt to come to grips with the realities of the social world, it describes forms of social organization—those of our ancestors as well as those of our contemporaries—their social life, institutions, ideals, practice, and theory". The first of the two volumes is divided into six parts, headed respectively, *Social Life in Cultural Perspective*, *Social Theory*, *External Factors influencing Social Life*, *Cultural and Psychological Factors influencing Group Life*, *Phases and Problems of Modern Society*, and *The Trend of Social Development*. The volume of *Readings* contains a large amount of well chosen and well arranged selections of recent descriptions and interpretations from the viewpoint of "cultural sociologists". Though intended as a companion volume to Prof. Wallis' *Introduction to Sociology*, and illustrating and supplementing the topics treated in that book, the *Readings* can be very profitably used either independently or in connection with any other text-book in

Sociology. The two volumes will be highly appreciated by all students of the Science.

The Fields and Methods of Knowledge. A Textbook in Orientation and Logic.—By R. F. Piper, Ph. D., and P. W. Ward, Ph. D., (New York, Knopf, 1929). PP. XXI+398+XL. Price 16 s. net.

This a most interesting and useful volume which gives a general survey of the sciences and an analysis of scientific method. It is based on a course in logic and orientation presented by the learned authors to their students at the Syracuse University. The book is divided into twenty chapters, headed respectively, I. The Background of Knowledge, II. Mathematics, III. The Physical Sciences, IV. Biological Science, V. Psychology, VI. History, VII. The Social Sciences, VIII. Thinking, IX. Observation, X. Judgment and Inference, XI. Induction, XII. Deduction, XIII. Verification, XIV. Discovery, XV. Statistical Methods, XVI. The Organization of Knowledge, XVII. Ethics, XVIII. Æsthetics, XIX. The Study of Religion, XX. Metaphysics. As will be seen, an exposition of the principles of Logic which the authors call the 'philosophy of Science' (chapters VIII — XVI) occupy a large part of the book, and the physical and biological sciences receive greater attention than the social sciences. Though the presentation of each science is necessarily incomplete, it is not superficial but

on the whole satisfactory so far as it goes. Students as well as the general reader will find the book very profitable reading.

The Land of the Sun-God. A Description of Ancient and Modern Egypt.—*By Hanna Rydh, Translated from the Swedish by A Barwell. (Unwin, 1929). PP. 202.*

This is a most entertaining as well as instructive book of travel written by a traveller with archæological interests. As one reads the book, one is captivated by the peculiar and powerful attraction of the mysterious Land of the Sun-God, the Bedouins of Sahara, the Great Oasis of the Fayum, the Fellah villages on the Nile, the rock tomb-chapels at Beni-Hassan, the extensive necropolis at Abydos, the temple of Hathor at Dendera, the temple of Horus the Sun-god at Edfu, the temple of Khnum at Esna, the temple ruins on the island of Philæ and the mighty dams at Assuan where dark-brown Nubians mingle with Egyptians and coal-black negroes, the beautiful town of Luxor and the Valley of the Kings, the temple terraces in Deir el Bahri, and the modern Egyptian Museum at Cairo. The delightful style in which the book is written and the copious illustrations that lend reality to the author's descriptions, add to the charm of the book.

The Magic of the Stars.—By *Maurice Maeterlinck*, Translated by *Alfred Sutro*. (George Allen & Unwin, 1930). PP. 155. Price 6 s. net.

This is one of Maeterlinck's master-pieces in which the life of the stars is narrated with the natural simplicity and charm of a lyric poem. The highest discoveries of science and the boldest theories and speculations are presented with a charm and simplicity which impress the mind and captivate the imagination.

Evolution and Man.—By *H. W. Shimer*. (Ginn and Company, 1929). PP. VI+273. Price

In this well-written volume, Prof. Shimer has presented the facts and theories of evolution as a basis on which to discuss man in particular,—his ancestry, his present inherited body and impulses, and how these condition his reactions to his environment. The book is divided into five parts, headed respectively: I. Evolution: The Result of Constant Change. II. From the Inorganic Plants to Animals. III. Evidences of Evolution. IV. Casual Factors of Evolution. V. Man. The fifth part covers more than half the volume, in which the author lays particular stress on the most important fact that "evolution is not merely a matter of diverging physical forms but also of enlarging consciousness expressed through these evolving forms,—a consciousness that, when the human level is reached, takes an increasing control of both the physical and social environment".

Four Appendices deal respectively with the History of the Concept of Evolution, the Mentality of Chimpanzees, Kitchen Middens as Ethnological Records, and Succession of Pliocene Cultures. The book will be welcome to students of biology in general and to students of Anthropology in particular.

Moral Obligation: Its Nature and Principles.

—By *Neville Tebbutt*, (*Routledge*, 1930). PP. viii+152. Price 5 s. net.

In this book the author propounds views of duty and moral obligation which are not subscribed to either generally or even by any single school of ethics, but which, the author thinks, are "consciously or unconsciously acted upon by the majority of sensible and well-disposed people in ordinary life..... in every civilised nation". Our author seeks to show that moral principles are "human inventions, and are not innate ideas or parts of an intuitive knowledge, though many of them are so simple, so obviously beneficial, and so universally adopted that they appear natural". Besides this acquired feeling of moral obligation proper, which is "not a mere weakness and foolishness on the part of the individual, but is wise and reasonable, even from an entirely selfish stand-point", there are other influences which, according to Mr. Tebbutt, lead a man to do his duty. Among these influences are:—(1) the law of the land and its punishments, (2) the pressure of social dislike,

the encouragement of social approval, and (3) early training and habit.

The Bridle of Pegasus. Studies in Magic, Mythology and Folklore.— *By W. R. Dawson.* (*Methuen, 1930*). PP. XV+203. Price 7 s. 6 d. net.

In this book we have the author's studies of eight different forms by which early man attempted to control, by divine or magical aid, the forces of nature and to achieve ends that he believed to be necessary to his life and welfare, "just as in the Greek legend, Bellerophon, by the help of the magic bridle put into his hands by Athena, was able to tame and mount Pegasus, the immortal winged steed, by whose aid he defeated the Chimaera". The eight different attempts form the subject of the eight chapters in which the book is divided and which are headed respectively:—I. The Amphidromia Rite, II. Harpies and Bats, III. A Man who became a God, IV. Nose-rubbing and Salutations, V. Mouse-Eating, VI. The Love of the Hoopoe, VII. Birthwort, VIII. Mummy as a Drug. An exhaustive bibliography is appended. The book will prove useful and instructive to students of ethnology and folklore.

The Races of Man and their Distribution.—
By A. C. Haddon, Sc. D., F. R. S. (Revised Edition.
Cambridge University Press, 1929). PP. 184. Price
6 s. net.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of a standard work which no student of Anthropology can do without. We eagerly look forward to the larger work of which, as we are told in the Preface, this is to some extent a summary.

From Savagery to Commerce : An Introduction to the Theory of Adult Education.—
By T. S. Foster, (Jonathan Cape, 1930). PP. 355. Price
12 s. 6 d. net.

In this book the author attempts to trace the evolution of Education among mankind as a whole with a view to discover the stages of education in the individual. He analyses the problems with which he was faced as an officer of the Expeditionary Force, and describes the expansion of this individual experience by comparing it with six backward peoples of the British Empire, namely, the Tasmanians, the Andamanese, the Dieri, the Salish, the Thonga and the Maori, whose social life is succinctly described. These accounts, based on careful ethnological studies, will be appreciated by students, although the more or less hypothetical reconstruction of the prehistory of man may be open to certain obvious criticisms,

Sexual Life in ancient India.—By *Johann Jakob Meyer*. (Routledge, 1930). PP. 590. Price 56 s. 6 d. net.

This book which is the product of strenuous labour of an erudite scholar, is an attempt to place before the public an account of the life of woman in ancient India, mainly as pictured in the Great Epic, the *Mahābhārata*, which with its examples of all sorts of virtue and vice, has exerted so much influence on Indian character. This book is rich in information, full of quotations from the Epics and the Law books and also other literature of later periods. The author has tried to bring to light the relations of the sexes in ancient India and the concept underlying those relations. For a better understanding of the subject he has supplied us with analogous usages and customs of other nations. He has dealt with the subject under twenty-two heads, viz.—(1) The maid, (2) Marriage,—to whom and how, (3) the Wedding, (4) Life in marriage, (5) Woman as mother, (6) Woman in her sexual relations, (7) The Pleasure of the sex. (8) The sexual continence of man, (9) The pleasures of venial love, (10) Love. (11) Woman as wife, (12) Woman as child-bearer, (13) Woman lying in, (14) Woman in the house, (15) The Widow, (16) Woman in misfortune, (17) The Ideal Woman, (18) The Woman of Energy, (19) Position, rank, and importance of Woman, (20) The worth and nature of Woman, (21) Woman as chattle, (22) The Power of Woman. Our author possesses a liberal outlook. He

has appreciated the unsullied chastity of the ancient Indian maid, mutual love and devotion of the Indian husband and wife, the sexual continence of Indian man, moderation and regulation in the enjoyment of love, faithfulness of the wife, her power, position rank and importance. But in describing all these things he has not omitted to notice a single instance of failure, though some cases of failure are noted by way of contrast to emphasise some other virtues which the epics extol. He has appreciated those virtues in the light of Western ideas of morality and standard of civilization. But Indian life is so rich in varieties and complexities that it requires a deeper insight, a more spiritual bent of mind to understand its full significance. So we cannot but sympathise with the author, a Western scholar, when and where he appears to have failed to do full justice in bringing out the concept underlying the relations of the sex, its deep spirituality based on a wonderful restraining capacity, self-denial, devotion to duty, and above all, perfect non-attachment aiming always at the realisation of the self, which is the ideal of the life of the ancient Indian, specially the fair sex. The author has found out the extremes in Indian character—the strong denunciation of sensuality and yet keen appreciation of sensual enjoyment. But he has not discovered and illustrated the process which has graduated and turned sensuality to complete continence in Indian character. The Indian Epics have depicted all sorts of usages, customs and ideals, high and low, possible in human nature, and has distinctly shown the process of evolution and spiritualisation establishing *varṇāśrama-dharma*,

placing duty with non-attachment above all and giving hope and possibility of fuller expression to one and all. The author has spoken much about the sensuality of the male sex. The *Mahābhārata* has mainly described the story of the governing class. It has not described the life of the masses and the villagers, who, as the backbone of Indian society, follow and preserve the ideal. In the ancient Indian village scheme we scarcely find any place for the public woman. The author by omitting an account of Vedic India, whose ideals have been influencing Indian life for ages, has left a very big gap in his treatment of the subject with which he deals.

In a future issue we shall try to give a detailed study of the book.

S. B. G.

Death Customs. An Analytical study of Burial Rites.—By E. Bendann. (*Kegan Paul-1930*). PP XIII+304. Price 12s. 6d. net.

This is one of the excellent volumes of the notable *History of Civilization* series edited by Prof C. K. Ogden and published by Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. In this valuable book, the author makes an intensive study of death customs and associated ideas in a few selected areas, viz., Melanesia, Australia, North-East Siberia, and India (especially the Vedic conceptions), seeks to correlate the variations in observances and ceremonies with the general

culture of the group and employs the comparative method to make a generalized statement of the death conceptions of the world. The book is divided into two parts: Part I deals with the similarities in rites and ideas, and Part II with the differences. The evidence presented in Part I reveals a considerable similarity both in customs and beliefs and an almost universal agreement in some elements,—such as the conceptions connected with the disposal of the body, of the general attitude towards the corpse, of the dread of the spirit of the deceased, of the necessity of observing mourning rites, of the practice of commemorating the dead by feasts at which some portion of the food is offered to them and the belief in the continued existence of the soul. Miss Brendon emphasises the important caution that all apparent similarities are not comparable, since similar customs are often associated with the most intricate complexes. Historical relationship as also the psychological setting for a custom and the psychological sources for its origin have all to be taken into account. The differences found in different areas manifest local influences and are in many cases a direct reflex of the cultural setting. The author's study shows that no one method can be used exclusively to analyse any culture complex. Similar elements of this psycho-historical problem have been determined by certain inherent psychic features, but the different elements found in association do not always spring from the same psyche. The content of the specific

features of the death complex is dependent upon rank, sex, age, social organization, status, and environmental, moral, religious differences, and myth conceptions, the conceptions as to what constitutes a man's personality, location of the realms of the dead, the physical condition of the deceased, totemic considerations, and the kind of life after death, reincarnation beliefs, and so forth.

As a result of his careful study the author rejects the view of the death-complex as an organic unit, and holds that genetically it is a more or less adventitious conglomerate of heterogeneous elements of culture, the specific content of the complex being in each instance a special case traceable to specific historic and sociological determinants. Though there is unity in the death-complex of any given group, it is due not to the genetic relationship of the various elements of the complex, but to the associations formed between such features through the operation of sociological and psychological factors. The book is a most valuable contribution to the analytical study of customs relating to death.

The Makers of Civilization in Race and History.—By L. A. Waddell. (*Luzac. 1929*). PP. LVI+646. Price 28 s. net.

In this well got-up and well illustrated volume Dr. Waddell attempts to establish his theory of the Sumerian Origin of Indo-Aryans, and to trace with the help of Babylonian, Egyptian, Hittite, Indian and Gothic sources, "the rise of the

Sumerians or Aryans, their origination and propagation of civilization, their extension of civilization to Egypt and Crete, Indo-Persia and ancient Europe, the personalities and achievements of their leading kings, the historical human originals of the principal mythic gods and heroes (such as Adam, Cain, Noah, Nimrod &c.) with dates from the rise of civilization about 3380 B. C." The author claims that through his researches the prehistoric period of Civilization has become historic and dated. This is a very bold claim indeed, and it is questionable how far in the present state of our knowledge, this claim will be admitted by scholars in general. There can, however, be no question as to the great scholarship, industry and thought which the erudite author has brought to bear upon the fascinating facts and problems connected with the Early History of Civilization; and the volume will be read with absorbing interest by the general reader as well as the scholar. The book is illustrated with numerous excellent illustrations and five maps, and supplied with an exhaustive index.

A History of Magic and Experimental Science During the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era.—By *Lynn Thorndike*. (Macmillan 1929). Volume I. PP. XL+835; Vol. II. PP. IX+1036. Price 42 s. net.

In these two volumes the author surveys the

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The Mysore Tribes and Castes, Volumes II & III,—By the late H. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer. (*Mysore University, 1928 & 1930*) Vol. II. PP. VII+559. Price 20 s. or Rs. 12-8-0, Vol. III. PP. VII+619. Price 20 s. or Rs. 12-8-0.

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